THREE SERMONS PREACH'D AT SALISBURY.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

The First, *A. D.* 1680. and again before the *Militia*, at their going againſt the late *Duke* of *Monmouth*: In which the Doctrine of not *reſiſting* the *Higher Powers*, on any Pretence whatſoever, taught by the *Church of England*, is eſtabliſhed from Scripture, Reaſon, and Antiquity.

The Second, preach'd before the Right Reverend Father in God, *SETH*, Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, *A. D.* 1681. and publiſhed by his Command. In which the *Formality* and *Hypocriſie* of our *Phanatical* Pretenders to the *Power of Godlineſs* is diſcover'd.

The Third, preach'd, *A. D.* 1683, at the Election of the Mayor, and publiſhed with ſome enlargement, upon Occaſion of a Diſcourſe with Mr. *Nelthrop* in the Goal of *Sarum*. In which the Doctrine of the Author of *Julian the Apoſtate*, viz. *That where the true Religion is by Law eſtabliſhed, Subjects are not obliged to ſuffer for it, but may, if perſecuted for it, defend themſelves againſt their Lawful Sovereign*, is proved to be contrary to Scripture, Reaſon, and Antiquity, and pernicious to the Government.

By *Daniel Whitby*, D.D. and Chantor of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

LONDON,

Printed for *T. Baſſet*, at the *George* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1685.

THREE
SERMONS
PREACHED AT
SALISBURY.

To the Honourable

Collonel JOHN WYNDAM

Coll. Tho. Penruddock,

AND

The rest of the Officers belonging to their Regiments.

Honoured Sirs,

WHen I had the honour to preach one of these Sermons to your Regiments before your Expedition against Monmouth, I was so happy as to obtain Your Approbation and good Opinion of the Author of it; And since, upon a late Occasion, have receiv'd such Expressions of your Kindness to me as cannot be forgotten without great Ingratitude. Being therefore desirous to give some publick Testimony of the great Obligations you have laid upon me, and of my due resentment of them; I humbly intreat you to accept this small Expression of my Gratitude, which I am the more encouraged to offer, because it asserts the Old Church of England Loyalty,

which

which You, to Your immortal Honour, have practiſed in the worſt of Times, and ſignaliz'd of late by that Cheerfulneſs and Bravery with which you ventured your Lives for the beſt of Princes *and* Governments: *In Obedience to which, I ſhall always endeavour ſo to live, that you may never be aſham'd to own,*

Honoured Sirs,

Your moſt obliged and

very Humble Servant,

D. W.

ERRATA.

SErm. 1. p. 3. l. 22. God, r. quod. p. 6. l. 10. dele and. p. 9. l. 20. daily, r. duly. p. 17. l. 5. natural, r. external. Serm. 2. p. 20. l. 37. acknowledge, r. acknowledgment. Serm. 3. p. 31. l. 11. equalty, r. equal tye.

A SERMON PREACHED

At the Cathedral Church of *Sarum.*

2 TIMOTHY 3. 5.

Having a Form of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof.

THere are some common Notions and Inclinations to Devotion planted in the minds of men, which prompt them to the exercise of that which they esteem *Religion*; and these, in the *Professors* of *Christianity*, are very much improv'd by Education and Instruction, by the Ministry of the Word and publick Ordinances, by the common workings of the Spirit of God and the Examples of good men; so that as many of them as are not *Atheistical* in heart, can never satisfie the workings of their Conscience, without performance of some things which carry in them the appearance of a *Religious* Conversation, and from which they conclude themselves devout and truly pious. But yet, alas, it doth too often happen, through the blindness of our Understandings, and the averseness of our corrupt Wills to the severer Duties of *Christianity*, through the subtilty of *Satan*, and the deceitfulness of our own Hearts, through the strong affection which we bear to our beloved Lusts, and through the prevalency of our Passions over the Reason and the Convictions of the Soul; I say it doth too often happen upon these accounts, that men delude themselves with a fair semblance of *Religion*, without the Substance of it, *Having a form of Godliness, &c.*

Which, being in the experience of all Ages, and more especially of this, a very common thing, and yet most certainly destructive to our precious Souls, it is both very necessary, and very profitable to deal plainly with you in this important Subject, by shewing,

1. Wherein consists *the Form of Godliness*, and how far we may go in the *Profession* of *Religion*, and in the Practice of some Religious Duties, and not exceed that *Form*. And,

2. Wherein consists the *Truth* and *Power* of it.

Now the Word *Godliness* in Scripture is sometimes used in a strict Sense, to signifie that Service which is immediately paid to God, and is comprised in the first Table of the *Decalogue*. As, *v. g.* When the *Scripture* doth exhort to *follow after Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness*, to *add to Godliness, Brotherly Kindness, and Charity*, when it doth teach us *to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present World*, to *lead a peaceable and quiet Life in all Godliness and Honesty*. Here, because Godliness is put in opposition to Righteousness, Sobriety, and Charity, which comprehend the Duties of the second Table, it seems apparent that the Word *Godliness* doth in these places only signifie that Duty which we owe to God.

1 Tim. 6. 11. 2 Pet. 1. 7. Tit. 2. 12. 1 Tim. 2. 2.

But when the Gospel is stiled *the Mystery of Godliness*, the *Truth*, and *Doctrine which is after Godliness*; when *Godliness* is said to be *profitable for all things, having the Promise of this Life and that which is to come*, there *Godliness* must signifie all that Obedience which is required by the *Gospel*, that Love and Righteousness which it prescribes towards our Neighbour, that Temperance which it enjoyns towards our selves, as well as that immediate Worship which we owe to God; the Gospel Grace being revealed, not only *to teach us to live godly*, but also *righteously* and *soberly*, and making us no Promise either of present or of future Blessings, without the practice of these Duties.

1 Tim. 3. 16. 6. 3. Tit. 1. 1.

2. That Greek Word μορφωσις which we here render *Form*, and answereth to the Hebrew תמונה and תבנית imports an outward shew, appearance, shape, or likeness, as *v. g. Jesus appeared ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, in another Form*, Mark 16. 12. *He took upon him μορφὴν δούλου, the Form of a Servant, being made in the likeness of a Man*, Phil. 2. 7. When therefore Persons outwardly appear to be *religious*, when they are found in fashion of the pious Man, doing outwardly, as he doth, speaking as he speaketh, making the same Profession which he doth; then may they properly be said to have *the form of Godliness*.

Now for the Resolution of that important Question, *How far a Man may go in the Profession of Christianity and the performance of some religious Duties, and yet have only a bare form of Godliness?* I answer in these six Particulars.

1. "Men may be frequent in the Performance of the outward Acts "of Worship, they may be much in Prayer, may appear very zea- "lous in their Addresses to the Throne of Grace, very sensible of, "and very tenderly affected with the Sins they do confess; they may "frequent the publick Ordinances, and seem to take Delight in hear- "ing, and in reading of the Word, they may be much in Fasting, "and

and costly and magnificent in their Oblations to God, and yet, tho they discover so much of the Form, may want the Power of Godliness. This will be evident from the Example of the ancient *Jews*, and of the *Pharisees*; for of the *Jews* it is recorded, That they were very free in their Oblations, witness that Question of the *Prophet* Isaiah, *To what purpose is the multitude of your Sacrifices?* Chap. 1. 11. The Prophet *Micah* plainly tells them, That *the Lord had a Controversie with his People, and would plead with Israel.* Being made sensible of this, they presently enquire of the *Prophet* what they should do to please him, as Men who did prefer his Favour before all other things: *Wherewith*, say they, *shall we come before him, and bow our selves before the High God? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Rams, or with ten thousand Rivers of Oyl? Shall I give my first born for my Transgression, the fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* Mic. 6. 6, 7. Where are large Offers made, saith *Drusius, ad explimendum Hypocritarum in rebus externis studium*, but not one word of *doing Justice, loving Mercy*, or *walking humbly before God*, which were the things that he especially delighted in. Moreover, they were still *treading in his Courts*, they *sought him daily* there, as Persons who took pleasure in his Presence, and being there, they multiplied their Supplications to God with the appearance of great Zeal and Fervour, expanding, or stretching forth their Hands, which was the gesture used in fervent Prayer; witness that Passage of the same *Prophet Isaiah*, chap. 1. 15. *When you spread forth your hands I will hide mine Eyes from you, and when you multiply your Prayers I will not hear.* They also were frequent Hearers of the Word; they said one to another, *Come, I pray you, and hear what is the Word that cometh forth from the Lord*; they *sat before the Prophets as God's People, and they heard his Words*; they expressed a great desire to be acquainted with the Will of God, *asking of him the Ordinances of Justice.* They were much exercised in Fastings; for besides the second and fifth day of the Week, which were their ordinary Fasting days, the *Hebrew Kalendar* informs us, there was not any Month in the whole Year in which some stated Fasts were not observed for the Remembrance of some Calamity which did in former times afflict that *Nation.* The Prophet *Zachary* doth, in one Verse, inform us of *the Fast of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and the tenth Month*; and in these times of solemn Fasting it was their Custom to make large Confessions of their Sins, according to the good Examples of *Daniel, Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*; and these Confessions were attended with many Tears and grievous Lamentations; witness that Question which they put to the Prophet *Zachary, Shall we weep in the fifth Month as we have done so many Years?* These Duties they performed with Delight; for, as the Prophet *Isaiah* witnesseth, *they took delight in approaching to God*; they heard the Word with Joy, as did the stony ground, delighting in the Knowledge of God's ways. And lastly, upon these Accounts, though they were very hypocritical, yet were they very confident of Favour and Acceptance with God, and that they were the very Darlings of his Providence, *they call'd themselves of the holy City, and staid themselves upon the*

Isa. 1. 12.
Isa. 58. 2.
Ezec. 33. 30, 31.
Isa. 58. 2.
Zach. 8. 19.
Chap. 7. 3.
Isa. 58. 2.
Matt. 13. 20.

God

Isa. 48. 1, 2. Jer. 7. 4. *God of Israel, and they made mention of his Name, though not in Truth and Righteousness. They trusted in lying Words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are these.* And hence, Jer. 5. 12. they gave the Lye to God's own *Prophets*, saying, *Neither shall Evil come upon us, neither shall we see Sword nor Famine.* And though *the Heads of the People judged for Reward, and the Priests thereof taught for Hire, and the Prophets thereof divined for Money, yet did they lean upon the Lord, and* Mic. 3. 11. *say, Is not the Lord among us, none Evil can come upon us?* In a word, they foolishly presumed that their Diligence in the performance of these Acts of outward Worship, would atone for their neglect of Mercy, Righteousness, and Justice. But notwithstanding this their Confidence, the Isa. 1. 13. Lord pronounceth their *Oblations vain*, their *Incense an Abomination* to Ezek. 33. 32. him; he declares, that *though they heard his Words they would not do them*, Zach. 7. 5. that they did never *fast* or mourn *to him*, that none of all their Fastings Isa. 58. 5. were *an acceptable day unto the Lord*, or *such a Fast as he had chosen*, nor Isa. 1. 15. would he lend an Ear unto their Prayers; and therefore we may rest assured, that, notwithstanding all this outward shew of Piety, their Hearts were not sincere and upright with him.

Again, the *Pharisees* were so renown'd for Piety among the *Jews*, that, *Buxtorf. in verbo* פרוש in the Language of their *Talmud*, a *Pharisee* doth signifie a *pious Person*, and that which did beget such an Opinion of their *Saintship* in the *Jews*, was their Exactness in the outward parts of Divine Worship; for they were much in Prayer, and oft repaired to the House of God to offer up this publick Sacrifice; and they had one good Rule to this effect, which I could wish that our *Pretenders* to great Piety would practise; *viz. That* *Maimon. in Tephillah. per. 8.* *every Man should go to Morning and Evening Prayer in the Synagogue, for that his Prayer is not constantly heard but in the Synagogue*; and *that every one who had a Synagogue in his City, and prayed not in it with the Congregation, was* שנגרע, *an evil Neighbour.* Upon their Festivals and fasting days they prayed *in the Market-place*, and *in the Corners of the streets*, Matt. 6. 5. *Leightf. in locum.* perhaps that they might be the more exemplary pious, and others might observe how much they were concern'd to worship God. They also made long Prayers, *perpetual Prayers*, saith * *Epiphanius*; their Religious men, say their Traditions, spent † *nine Hours every day in Prayer*; and they invented divers ways, saith *Epiphanius*, ‖ Βιάζεσθαι γρήγορσιν ἑαυτοῖς, *to keep themselves awake by force, that they might watch unto Prayer*; and this they did, because, according to their Maxims, *Long Prayer prolongeth Life, and* כל המרבה בתפלה נעכה, *every one that multiplieth Prayer shall be heard.* Our *Saviour* also seems to intimate, that they did frequently repeat the same Expressions, using *Battology*, after the manner of the *Heathens*, to signifie the Vehemence and Ardour of their Prayers. They *fasted often*, saith St. *Matthew*. They *fasted twice a Week*, saith *Luke*, and they continued their Fastings * *till the Sun went down*, and in these days of Fasting they employed themselves in publick † *reading of the Law.* And lastly, they were somewhat costly and expensive in their Service, for

* Ἐνδελεχεῖς δ' χαὶ, *Epiph. Resp. ad Epist. Acacii.*
† *Leightf. in* 23. Matt. 14.
‖ *Hæres.* 16. *p.* 34 *Leightf. ibid. Jerus. Taanith. fol.* 67. 3.
Matt. 6. 7.
Matt. 9. 14.
Luke 18. 12.
* *Leightf. in locum.*
† *Leightf. in* 9. Matt. 14.

for, they would beautifie and *garnish the Sepulchres of the Prophets*, to testifie their great Respect to him who sent them; and yet these *Pharisees* are charged, by our Lord, with gross *Hypocrisie*; he plainly tells them, That all their Fastings would not *justifie* them, and their long Prayers would only add to their Damnation. Mat. 23. 29. Luke 18. 14.

2. "Men may be frequently possess'd with a great Zeal for God, for "the Concernments of his Glory, the Purity of his Worship, the Observation of his Day, and of his Ordinances; they may be zealous and stiff "Contenders for what they call the Truth, and by so doing may demonstrate that they have *a form of Godliness*, that in appearance they are "great Promoters of his Glory, and strict Observers of his Will; and yet "these very Men may want *the Power of Godliness*, and be the greatest "Violaters of those Laws they seem so zealous to maintain. St. *Paul* professeth, That it was *Zeal* which moved him to *persecute the Church of Christ*, and that he was, ζηλωτὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ, *a Zealot for his God*, when he *bound, imprisoned, and persecuted to the Death* his dearest Servants, and *breath'd forth Threatnings and Slaughters against the Disciples of the Lord*. When *above measure he did persecute the Church, and waste it*, then was he περισσοτέρως ζηλωτὴς, *superlatively zealous*: when he *shut Christians up in Prison, compell'd them to blaspheme, persecuted them to strange Cities*, and, by his Testimony against them, did procure their Death, he only did what he conceived himself in Conscience bound to do *against the Name of Jesus*; and yet on the account of this his Zeal, he stiles himself *the chiefest of Sinners*, and *the least of the Apostles*. He calls his Zeal *excess of Madness*, and saith, that *he obtained Pardon* of so great a Crime only because *he did it ignorantly*. And of the unbelieving *Jews* in general the same *Apostle* testifieth, that *they had a Zeal for God*, that they were all *zealous for God as he was*, that they were zealous for the Law, and stiffly did contend for *Moses*, and could not hear with Patience that any one should teach, ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ Μώσεως, Apostacy from *Moses*: and yet these *Zealots*, as he himself declares, *were given up by God unto the Spirit of Slumber*; and though they boasted of the Law, yet they blasphem'd the Name of God by frequent Violations of it; they, notwithstanding all their Zeal for God, were by himself rejected from being any more his People, and *Wrath came upon them to the uttermost*; and though they did profess the greatest Reverence for *Moses*, yet did *they not believe his Words*. Their Zeal against the Christian Faith caus'd them *to send some chosen Men throughout the World to blaspheme, and represent Christianity* ὡς τῶν ἄθεον καὶ ἄνομον, *as a wicked Atheistick Sect*; and *from these Men*, saith *Justin Martyr, all those vile Stories took their rise which Heathens did object against the Christians*. Their Zeal provok'd them *in their Synagogues to curse all that believed in Jesus*, and add unto their other Prayers, one for the * destruction of the *Hereticks*, for so, after the *Romish* Mode, they called *Christians*. They had a Sect of *Zealots*, who in their Writings are stiled, *good Men, possess'd with a Zeal for God*, who took upon them, in imitation of the Zeal of *Phinehas*, to kill all such as they esteem'd Transgressors who deserved Death, without judicial Sentence pass'd upon them; and these

Philip. 3. 6. Acts 22. 3. 9. 1. Gal. 1. 14. Act. 26. 9. 10, 11. 1 Tim. 1. 15. 1 Cor. 15. 9. περισσῶς ἐμμαινόμενος. Acts 26. 11. Rom. 10. 2. Acts 22. 3. Acts 21. 21. Rom. 11. 8. Rom. 2. 23. John 5. 45. *Justin. Mar.* p. 234, 335. *Idem Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 235. *Ibid.* p. 234, 323, 335. * *Leight. Harm.* part 3. p. 217. *Leightf. in Joh.* 16. 2.

Just. Mar. p. 234. 363. Apol. p. 72. John 16. 2.

Men did employ their Zeal in killing *Christians* as often as they had opportunity to do it, and in so doing they conceived, that they offer'd λατρείαν καὶ θεῷ, the most acceptable service to God. The *Pharisees* were, of all *Jews*, the greatest *Zealots*: they were possess'd with this Opinion, That no Man could be saved who owned not their *Religion*, and therefore, to promote their Faith, and make one Proselyte unto it, *they compass'd Sea and Land.* Among the seven kinds of *Pharisees* they had one stiled שכמי, *a Pharisee who serv'd God purely out of Love*, as they pretended; but then this Love was only, saith another, שכרי, *the Love of Reward or Reputation among others.* So careful were they to have God's Laws observ'd, that they by their Traditions made סייג an Hedge unto the Law, *i. e.* They would do more, that so they might be sure to do as much as God required. They were so zealous for the Observation of the *Sabbath-day*, that they would not permit our *Saviour* to do the greatest Works of Charity or Mercy, or his *Disciples* to satisfie their Hunger on that day: and yet our Lord declares, that notwithstanding all this Zeal, they were but gilded Hypocrites, *a Generation of Vipers, who could not possibly escape Damnation.*

Matt. 23. 15. *Pocock Not. Miscel.* p. 354. *Rashi ibid.* *Leightf. Harm.* part 3. p. 216. Mark 7. 2. Matt. 12. 2. Matt. 23. 33.

Sciant omnes socii speciali voto se astringi, ita ut quicquid Modernus & alii R. Pontifices, pro tempore existentes, jusserint ad profectum animarum, & fidei propagationem pertinens, sine ulla tergiversatione aut excusatione illico, quantum in nobis fuerit, eorum teneamur: sive id mittere ad Turcas, sive ad quoscunque alios Infideles, sive ad quoscunque Hæreticos. Paul 3. *const.* 25. § 6. *Bullar. R.* to. 1. p. 739. *Vaveant singuli, & in omnibus quæ ad Regulæ hujus nostræ observationem faciunt, obedientes sint, Societatis præposito.* § 8. *ed.* A. D. 1540. *vid.* Jul. tertium *const.* 9. *ed.* A. D. 1550. § 5, 7, 8. Greg. 13. *const.* 89. *ed.* A. D. 1584. § 12. to. 2. p. 472.

I could proceed to tell you of some Men amongst us, whose *Circumcellian* Zeal hath prompted them to murther *Bishops*; and of some *Scottish Zealots*, who in their printed Declarations profess to have turn'd Rebels out of pure Zeal, *for the promotion of Christ's Kingdom*, and *for the purity of his Worship*; and yet, of such *Despisers of Dominion*, and *Resisters of Authority*, St. *Jude* declares, that they are ἀσεβεῖς, *ungodly Men*, v. 4. And although others may embrace them as their *beloved Brethren*, "*from such*, saith the Apostle, *turn away.* Wherefore, that Zeal for God, which, as you see, is common both to the unbelieving *Jew* and to the true *Believer*, to the proud formal *Pharisee* as well as to the humble and sincerest *Christian*, to the heady fierce high-minded *Traitor* as well as to the peaceable obedient *Subject*, can be no certain Indication of the Power of Godliness; no Argument that we are *Saints.* Which will be further evident, if we consider That this Zeal proceeds not always from a true Love to God, and a sincere Respect unto his Glory; but oftentimes from Education, whence Men of every Sect and Party are zealous for those Principles and Practices which they receiv'd from Education, and Custom hath inured them to. It may proceed from carnal Motives, as did the Zeal of *Jehu*, which yet he stiled *Zeal for God.* Now that which may proceed from Motives common to the good and bad, can be no Evidence that we are good.

Scots Declaration put upon the Market Cross at *England.*

3. "Men also may pretend to bear a great Affection to the *Godly Party*, "and shew great Opposition to those whom they are pleased to call *Pro-*

"*phane*;

"phane; they may be strict in separation of themselves from those whose "Conversation, or whose way of Worship they dislike, and by these "things may seem to others, and perhaps to themselves, that they are ve-"ry much in Love with Piety, and bear a perfect hatred to all Iniquity, "and that they are extreamly cautious of having any *Fellowship with the* "*unfruitful Works of Darkness*, and yet may only have a *Form of Godli-*"*ness*. The *Pharisees* stiled all that were not of their Sect עם הארץ, *vile People of the Earth*, but they forsooth were the *Religious* and *Godly* Party. Hence they usurped to themselves two Names; that of *Pharisee*, which signifieth, One who doth separate from other People, as impure; this being one of their avowed Rules, *That it was Piety* and קדושה יתירה, *superabundant Sanctity, to separate from common People of the Earth:* and secondly, they call'd themselves חברים, or the *Companions* or *Associates*, from that Expression of the *Psalmist*, *I am a Companion of all them that fear thee*; intimating, that they desired only to converse with godly Men. On this Account they do so often quarrel with our *Saviour*, because he did converse *with Publicans* and *Sinners*, and suffer'd them *to touch him*, and would not be one of their *Cheborim*, i. e. one of their *Separation* and *Association*; this to them seemed very strange, and unaccountable, and therefore they enquire, *How is it that your Master eateth with Publicans and Sinners?* and peremptorily conclude he was no *Prophet*, because he suffered *a sinful Woman to embrace his Feet*. The *Gnosticks* also did separate themselves from other Christians, as being both more *knowing*, and more *spiritual* than others were, stiling themselves, (*a*) φύσει πνευματικὸς, *by Nature spiritual*, and looking on all others as mere *animal* and carnal Men; and yet they were, saith the Apostle *Jude*, *ungodly Men, turning the Grace of God into Lasciviousness*; they were *sensual having not the Spirit*; *they despised Dominions, and spake evil of Dignities*; they held, That Men were justified by Grace, excluding the Necessity of doing Righteousness, and that they could not be polluted by the Sins they did commit. (*b*) *Novatus* first departed from the Unity of the Church, and drew away the Brethren from Communion with their *Bishop*, out of pretence of Purity; on which Account, his Followers obtain'd the Name of (*c*) *Cathari*, or *Puritans*, declaring, That it was unlawful to (*d*) communicate with those who lapsed in the time of Persecution, or to receive them into the Bosom of the Church upon Repentance: and yet this hypocritical Pretender to the

Lightf. in Mat. c. 3. v. 7. p. 53.

Pocock Not. Miscell. p. 352. Leightf. ib. p. 56.

חבר אני *Psal. 119. 63.*

Leightf. p. 55.

Mark 2. 16.

Matt. 9. 11.

Luke 7. 39.

v. 4, 8, 19.

As being Vessels of Election ἐκλογῆς. *Iren. l. 1. p. 28.*

(*a*) Αὐτὸς ἡ μὴ διὰ πρόξεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φύσει πνευματικὸς εἶ) σωθήσεσθαι δόξαντες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸς λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἐν ὁσίοις ὑλικῆς φθορᾶς κατηγένου, μηδὲν αὐτὸς φθορᾶς ἐπιδεχόμενον, μηδὲ ἀπολλύειν τὸ πνευματικὸν ὑπάρχον. Iren. l. 1. c. 1. p. 26. C. D.

(*b*) *Novatus, qui primum apud nos discordiæ & schismatis incendium seminavit, qui quondam ex fratribus ab Episcopo segregavit*, &c. Cypr. Ep. 49. § 3.

(*c*) Νουάτου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τούτου καθαρῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκαλούντων καὶ ὑπερηφάνων ἀγγέλων καθιζάντων. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. cap. 43.

(*d*) Ἀπὸ ἧς ἐφορμήσας ὁ τῷ διωγμῷ ἀποπεσόντων ἐπόμνην ἀρθεὶς, ἀμὲν τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας αὐτῷ μὴ δεχόμενος καὶ κωλύσας τῆς μετανοίας εἶναι τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι λέγων, μὴ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνα κατηγορίαν, Epiph. Hær. 59. § 1. μὴ χρῆναι λέγων, τοὺς ἀρνησαμένους κοινωνεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ. Theod. Hær. fab. l. 3. c. 5.

greatest Purity, (e) in the time of Persecution did renounce his Brotherhood, and became guilty of such enormous Crimes, saith *Cyprian*, for which he had deserved, and would, were he continued in it, have suffered the Censures of the Church. The *Donatists* did also separate, lest they should be defiled by their Communion with *Traditors*; for this Cause having first departed from *Cecilian*, their Bishop, they afterwards departed from the Communion of the (f) *Catholick Church*, affirming that they only were the true (g) *Church* of *Christ*, and that all others were (h) *Apostates*, because they did communicate with wicked Persons; for they imagined that the (i) *Church* only did consist of *Saints*, and Persons undefiled; and thought it a Pollution not only to communicate, but even sit with others. Hence in the Conference recorded, or epitomised by *St. Austin*, the (k) *Bishops* of the *Party of Donatus* would not sit with the *Catholick Bishops*, because it was written, *I will not sit with the ungodly*. They likewise did pretend to greater Purity, and to severer Discipline, than could be shewed among the *Catholicks*, declaring, that they were *the Church without all* (l) *Spot and Wrinkle*, of which *St. Paul* makes mention in his Epistle to the *Church* of *Ephesus*, and that they would permit no (m) wicked Men among them. They falsly carped at the *Catholicks*, as using superstitious Worship to something placed upon their (n) *Altars*: and yet the Leaders of these Men were themselves (o) *Traditors*, who had absolved one another from that Crime. They were Men who spake evil of the (p) *Emperour*, and opposed his Officers; they denied the (q) Authority of Civil Magistrates in sacred matters; they were, *Contumaces & legibus hostili modo repugnantes, contumacious resisters of the Laws after an hostile manner*. They had their (r) *Duces Sanctorum*,

* *Propter hoc se non de Presbyterio excitari tantum, sed & communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat.* Cypr. Ep. 49. § 4. vid. § 2, 3.

Eph. 5. 27.

(e) Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροτάτης εἰς τὸ βαθὺ κακίας ἐκπεσὼν τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀπώσατο. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. cap. 43. p. 244. Theod. Lect. lib. Ibid.

(f) *Ad omnibus populis separatos vos esse gratulamini.* Optat. l. 2. p. 47. *Unitatem cum toto orbe terrarum habere noluistis.* l. 3. p. 69.

(g) *Apud vos solos esse ecclesiam dicitis.* Optatus lib. 2. p. 47. *Se solos Christianos esse jactant.* August. contra Cresc. l. 4. cap. 59.

(h) *Postea totam Ecclesiam periisse, & in sola Donati parte Reliquias ejus mansisse contendunt.* August. de Agone Christi, cap. 29. *Totus mundus apostatavit, nos autem tantum duo illi tribus permansimus in Templo Dei, i.e. in Ecclesia*, ait Petilianus apud August. l. de Unitate, cap. 12. Vid. Brevic. collat. p. 578.

(i) *Ostendere tentaverunt quod Ecclesia Dei non cum malorum hominum commixtione futura prædicta est.* August. Brevic. collat. p. 573.

(k) *Catholici consederunt, Donatista autem recusarunt, in qua recusatione, inter cætera, id quoque dixerunt, Quod scriptum sibi esset cum talibus non sedere.* Ib. p. 566, & post Collat. Carthag. cap. 5.

(l) *Donatistæ in nostra collatione dixerunt in ea se esse Ecclesia quæ non habet maculam aut rugam.* August. Ep. 50. ad Bonifacium. Optat. l. 2. p. 55.

(m) *Affruebant non esse malos tolerandos in Ecclesia propter contagium peccatorum.* Aug. Brevic. Collat. p. 574.

(n) *Dicebatur illo tempore venturos esse Paulum & Macarium, qui sacrificio non essent, & cum altaria apparentur, proferrent illi imaginem quam primo in altari ponerent, sic sacrificium offerretur. Ac nihil tale visum est ex eo quod fuerat mentita fama.* Optat. l. 3. p. 75.

(o) *Traditionis reos principes eorum fuisse monstratum est.* Optat. l. 1. p. 39, 40. August. lib. 3. contra Cresc. cap. 27.

(p) *Convitia Constanti, quanta potuit, dixit.* Optat. l. 3. p. 67. *Jam tunc mediabatur Donatus contra præcepta Apostoli Pauli, Potestatibus & Regibus injuriam facere.* Ibid. p. 64.

(q) *Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesia.* Optat. l. 1. p. 42. l. 3. p. 64. August. l. 3. contra Petilian. cap. 92.

(r) *Cum Maximo & Prisc. ab ipsis insanientibus sanctorum Duces appellentur, cum hæc fecerunt esse in his possessionibus; terrebantur omnes literis eorum qui se sanctorum Duces fuisse jactabant.* Optat. l. 3. p. 68. *Ecce Ecclesia vestra*, Episcopis Ducibus, *erunt in morsibus pasta est.* l. 2. p. 55. *Ducibus Clericis.* August. Brevic. Collat. p. 579.

rum,

vium, Captains of the Saints, under whose Conduct they often did resist the *Civil Magistrate*: and they were of the *Clergy* too; they carried on their work, *per insanas querelas & vana mendacia, by furious Complaints and vain Lies*; they were Murtherers of *Catholick* (*f*) *Bishops, Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, yea they destroyed themselves by falling down from (*t*) *Precipices*, or causing others to dispatch them, that they might have the Honour of *Martyrdom*; so far were they, after their confident Pretences, from being free from Sin. A Form of Godliness, of the same stamp, is visible in many among us who call themselves *Reformed Protestants*, consisting in a great Zeal for the Promotion of that *Religion* which they have espoused, and a strong Out-cry against *Antichrist*, and his *Adherents*, and all that they are pleased to call a *Rag of Popery*; in doing this they are so hot, that they can venture their Estates and Lives in the espousal of this Quarrel; and yet too many of them are so far from the Power of Godliness, that they retain the very Spirit and the Marks of the great *Antichrist*, whilst they declare so much against him, walking *in all deceivableness of Unrighteousness*, and lifting up themselves against the *Lord's Vicegerents*, who are in Scripture called *Gods*, being in this too like the *Pharisees* of old, who stirred up the People, saith *Josephus*, against *Hyrcanus* the King, and afterwards against King *Alexander*, and of whom that *Historian*, who was one of them, gives this Character, Φαρισαῖοι βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μέλλησι ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, *the Pharisees are exceeding strong to oppose Kings*, εἰς τε πολεμεῖν τοῖς βλάπτειν ἕτοιμοι, *and very forward to make open War, and to do hurt*. Nor can we easily forget how much *Religion* was once placed in opposition to the *malignant* Party, and siding with those Men who call'd themselves the *Saints*, and the *Reformers* of *Religion*, and how much still some think themselves obliged to shew their Piety by being greater *Separatists* than were the *Pharisees* of old; for albeit they would not mix with the People of the Earth, or the profane in civil Conversation, yet as our *Lord* and his *Apostles* did not, so neither did the *Pharisees* refuse to go to the same Temple with them; this Separation being opposite to their own Rules, *That the Prayer of the Congregation is always heard, though Sinners be among them*, and *that whosoever prayeth, should, when he prayeth, joyn with the Church*. But 'tis not now my Business to shew how groundless are these Separations, but only to conclude, from these plain Instances of *Hypocrites* and *profane Persons*, That these things are no certain marks of real Godliness. And evident it is, both to our Reason and Experience, that this Affection to, or Aversion from a *Sect* or *Party*, may, and too often doth, proceed from an inferiour Principle. Our Love to any *Sect*, or our Concernment for them, may be wholly owing to the Education we have had among them, or to the Pro-

Augustin. contra Donatist. post Collat. cap. 35.

2 Thes. 2. 4, 10.

Antiq. l. 13. 18. cap. 23. l. 17. cap. 3.

Maimon in Tephillah per. 8. Bab. Berac. fol. 30. 1.

(*f*) *Venisti Rabidi, membra laniantes Ecclesiæ, in cadibus innocuos multi ex numero vestro per loca plurima cruentam operati sunt cædes*, Optat. l. 2. p. 54. *Et cum alter defenderent Diaconi Catholici regulis, plurimi cruentati sunt*, *ibi*. *ecrisi*. p. 55. *De Episcopis* vide August. Epist. 50. p. 220. *de Presbyteris* Ep. 148. 149.

(*t*) *Ex altorum montium cacuminibus viles animas projicientes se præcipites dabant, & percussores sibi, sub cupiditate falsi Martyrii, in suam perniciem conducebant*. Optat. l. 3. p. 68. August. p. 580. Brevic. Collat.

fit we get by them, or to the outward ſhew of Piety they make to the *good Words and the fair Speeches by which they do deceive the Hearts of the ſimple*; on which account the *Phariſee* and *Scribe* gain'd ſuch a Reputation with the *Jews*, that 'twas *proverbial* with them, *That if two Perſons only were to go to Heaven, the one would be a* Scribe, *the other a* Phariſee. And that Antipathy we bear to others may ariſe from thoſe Invectives and odd Repreſentations of them we have read in *Characters* and *Pamphlets*, the Peſts of Charity, and the Inflamers of our Heats, or elſe received from the Mouths of their back-friends, the Injuries or Perſecutions we have ſuffered from them, the Fears and Jealouſies we have within us, that we may ſuffer in our Eſtates, Lives, or Religion, by them; or laſtly, from ſome hopes of Booty or Advantage to be got by oppoſition to them. Now that which may ariſe from other baſe and evil Motives, can be no certain Evidence that we are acted in it by the Power of Godlineſs.

4. "Men may expreſs a Form of Godlineſs in being very nice and ſcru-
"pulous, in ſeeming very ſtrict and conſcientious in leſſer Matters, and
"yet be Strangers to the Power of Godlineſs. This Niceneſs in theſe little matters ſeems to evidence great tenderneſs of Conſcience, great fear of doing any thing which may offend our gracious God, great exactneſs of Converſation, and hatred of all kinds, and all Appearances of evil, eſpecially when men are grown ſo ſtiff in theſe *Punctilio's*, that they will rather ſuffer from the hand of Man than act againſt the little Scruples they have entertained: and yet we find none more preciſe in theſe Particulars than were the *Scribe* and *Phariſee*, even when they did neglect the more ſubſtantial Duties of Religion. Our Saviour tells them in the general, that they would *ſtrain at Gnats, and ſwallow Camels*; they could not bear a little *Mote* ſpied in their Brother's Eye, but they muſt preſently rebuke him for it, and be earneſt with him to pull it out, whilſt yet they over-look'd *the Beam in their own Eye*. They could *ſeek falſe Witneſs againſt Chriſt*, and condemn the Innocent, but even then *They would not enter into the Governours Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled*: They would *pay Tithe of Mint and Cummin* to the *Prieſt*, which thing ſeems not required by the Letter of the Law, and at the ſame time would neglect *the weighty Matters of that Law, Judgment, Mercy, and the Love of God*. Their own Traditions tell us, that they were ſo careful to avoid *Idolatry*, that they would rather periſh than drink of any Water which ran through a *Statue*: yet theſe tender conſcienc'd Perſons who ſo *abhorred Idols*, would *commit Sacrilege*, and be notoriouſly guilty of that *Covetouſneſs* which is *Idolatry*. The ancient *Jews*, after the burning of the *Temple* by *Nebuzaradan*, *on the tenth Day of the fifth Month*, were wont to faſt upon that day for the Remembrance of that Deſolation; and when the *Temple* was rebuilt, they were ſo ſcrupulous, that although the Occaſion of this Faſt was now removed, they durſt not ceaſe to faſt till they had firſt conſulted with the *Prieſts that were of the Houſe of the Lord*, and with the *Prophets*. Hence they enquire of them, ſaying, *Should we weep in the fifth Month, ſeparating our ſelves as we have done ſo many Years?* And yet theſe Perſons, ſo ſcrupulous in this particular, could without

Matt. 23. 24. Mark. 7. 3, 4.

John 18. 28. Mat. 26. 59, 60.

Matt. 23. 23. Luke 11. 42. *Maimon de Idol. ſect. 3. cap. 10. apud Voſſium.*

Jer. 52. 12, 13.

Zach. 7. 3.

out all regret neglect the Duties of the second Table. They were guilty of *oppressing the Widow, Poor, and Fatherless*, Zach. 7. 10. They wanted *Mercy and Compassion to their Brother*, v. 9. They were deficient *in executing the Judgment of Truth and Peace in their gates*; they would *speak Lies, swear falsly*, and *imagine Evil in their Hearts against their Neighbour*, v. 9, 10. About our *Saviour's* time, and after, they were so nice and superstitious in the case of *Images*, as scarcely to permit the *Roman Eagle* quietly to pass their Country, or to continue in their Cities. When *Pilate* introduced those little *Images* of *Cæsar*, which were annexed to the *Military Standards*, they presently cried out, that this was done ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νόμων Ἰουδαϊκῶν, to the dissolution of the *Jewish* Laws, and *they would rather dye than suffer it*. And when *Herod*, Son of *Antipater*, brought into *Judea* the Trophies of the *Nations* he had conquered, they, thinking they were Images of Men, did with one Voice cry out, that *whatsoever they endured they would not suffer the Images of Men within their City*. And yet the Scripture doth declare them to be a very *wicked and adulterous Generation*; and their Historian adds, That † *never Generation was more wicked*. And happy were it if we could not instance in some other Persons who will not stand up at the Recital of the Creed, observe an Holy-day, or hear Common-Prayer, receive the Sacrament upon their Knees, which, being things no where forbidden in the Word of God, cannot be evil in themselves; but they will cheat their Brother, be guilty of Rebellion, Sacrilege, and Schism, will cause Divisions in the Church of God, and Factions in the State, and by so doing weaken the Interest of *Protestants*, blaspheme their holy Calling, and gratifie the common Enemy of our *Religion*.

5. " Men may express a Form of Godliness in being outwardly confor-
" mable to the whole Law of God, so that they who can only judge by
" outward Actions shall be obliged in Charity to think them truly pious,
" when yet they want the inward Life and Power of Godliness. This seemeth to have been the Case of the Young-man who told our *Saviour*, he had observed all the Commandments of the second Table ‖ *from his Youth*, that is, he had abstained from the outward Acts forbidden in those Laws, but yet he had not purged the inward Man from Covetousness, or an immoderate Love of Riches; and therefore he is called by Christ to the performance of this Duty, that he might be *perfect*. This was the Righteousness of which the *Pharisees* did boast, and by which they obtained so great a Reputation among Men; for so our *Saviour* plainly tells them, saying, *Woe to you* Scribes *and* Pharisees, *for you are like to whited Sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwards, but inwardly are full of dead Mens Bones, and all Uncleanness; even so ye outwardly appear righteous to men, but within you are full of Hypocrisie and Iniquity*. And again, *You are they that justifie your selves before men*, or seem to carry a fair out-side to the World, *but God knoweth your Hearts; for, that which is highly esteemed among Men is abominable in the sight of God*. And this is also that which passeth for *Religion* in our days, That Men come orderly to *Church*, and so behave themselves, that the World cannot charge them with any scanda-

lous

Ἡδονῇ δέξεσθαι τὸν θάνατον ἔλεγον, ἢ τολμήσειν τὴν σοφίαν παραβήσεσθαι τῶν νόμων. Antiq. l. 18. c. 4. Halos. l. 2. c. 14. vid. c. 17.

Εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκεῖεν οἰστὰ μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ πόλει. Antiq. l. 18. c. 7. l. 15. c. 11. Mark 8. 38.

† Μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν, de Bello Jud. l. 5. c. 27. Heb. 13. 4.

‖ Mat. 19. 20.

v. 21.

Mat. 23. 27.

Luke 16. 15.

lous Offences, whereas perhaps these men may be condemn'd for their Omissions; for though they have not robbed others, they may have been close fisted, and uncharitable to Christ's needy Members, neglecting both to *cloth the Naked, feed the Hungry, and visit his sick Members*; and this, our *Saviour* tells them, is sufficient to place them in a left hand Station. Thou may'st not go beyond the rigour of the Law, but yet thou may'st be cruel and unmerciful in dealing with thy Brother according to the utmost of it, casting him into Prison for a Debt he cannot pay, or there discharge; whereas our *Saviour* plainly calls the Man who dealt thus with his Brother, *a wicked Servant*, and doth pronounce him fit *to be delivered up to the Tormentors*. Thou may'st not dare to murther thy offending Brother, as the *Hectors* of our Age will do, but thou may'st *hate him in thy Heart*, which, in *St. John*'s Account, is Murther. Thou may'st not steal, but yet thou may'st be coveting thy Neighbour's Goods, and so may'st have a Will to rob him of them. Thou may'st abstain from Fornication and Adultery, and yet have the *Adulterous Eye*, and a Heart full of Lustings after the forbidden Fruit, which, saith our *Saviour*, is Adultery. If therefore we would be secure that we are truly good, we must add inward Purity of Heart to our Conformity in outward Actions.

Matt. 25. 41, 42, 43.

Mat. 18. 32, 34.

1 Joh. 3. 15.

Matt. 5. 28.

Thus have I finish'd my Discourse touching the Form of Godliness; to which I think it needful to adjoyn this Caution: *Viz.*

Caution.

That no man take occasion, from what hath been discoursed, to slight these Practices because they only do contain a Form of Godliness: for my Design is only to instruct you how far a man may go in the performance of good things, and yet have something lacking to make him truly good, that so we may not rest in these Performances, but may go on unto Perfection. Let therefore no man take occasion, from what hath been discoursed, to neglect that Prayer, or that Attendance on God's Ordinances, which are the means by him appointed to make us truly pious; but let him add to his Prayer, Practice; and to his Hearing, Doing. To have a Zeal for God, is doubtless very laudable, provided we be zealous for good things, and that impartially, and regularly. To bear a passionate Affection to the living Members of Christ's Body, and love them fervently, is a plain Christian Duty, which he that doth not practise hath no true Love to God; only we must be careful, that this Love be general, and not confined to that Sect or Party we affect; that it express it self in Deeds, not in Words only. It is our Duty *to separate from every Brother that walks disorderly*, provided that on this Account we do not separate from the Assemblies of God's publick Worship; and we may hate his Vices, provided that we love his Person. It doth become us to be fearful to offend even in lesser matters, and to *abstain from all appearances of Evil*, provided that we do not swallow *Camels*, whilst we strain at *Gnats*, that we neglect not the more weighty matters of Love, Peace, Unity, by reason of our stiffness in these things. We lastly are commanded to *provide things honest in the sight of all Men*; and *let the Light of our good Works shine before them*, provided that we be as careful that the inward Man be upright in the Sight of God,

Gal. 4. 18.

2 Thes. 3. 6.

1 Thes. 5. 22.

Rom. 12. 17.

Matt. 5. 16.

God, and that we do these things not *to be seen of Men*, or to obtain a Reputation from them, but to approve our hearts to God: so that you may perceive it is not less, but more than such a Form of Godliness which is required. *These things you ought to do*, excepting only the Separations, Scrupulosities, and the Austerities forementioned, *and not to leave the other undone.*

Again, I hope that none who hear me will be so profane as to make use of any thing now said, to the discredit of *Religion*, to the defaming of any pious Persons of what sort soever; that none will take occasion hence to call them *Pharisees*, or only *formal Christians*, who pray much in their Families, hear Sermons frequently, and perform other pious Duties, provided they do nothing repugnant to the Power of Godliness. 'Tis chiefly they who bear a Hatred to both the Power and the Form, that do so: and in their Language, as well as in the *Jewish Talmud*, a *Pharisee* is a devout and pious Man; a *Hypocrite* is any one who will not be profane, and all must be *Fanaticks* who will not run with them into the same Excess of Riot. That therefore they may have their Portion too,

2. Hence we may learn the sad Estate of those who have not yet attained to *a Form of Godliness*. If Men may pray and fast, frequent all publick Ordinances, be full of seeming Zeal for God, and hatred to Profaneness; if they may be exceeding scrupulous, and fearful to offend in little matters; if they may separate from the ungodly, and exercise much self-denial and severity towards the Body, and yet advance no further than a Form of Godliness; what will become of them who make no Conscience of attending on these means of Grace? who do not think themselves obliged to pray, fast, weep, for their own or for the *Nations* Sins? who are not in the least concerned for the Glory of God, or troubled at those crying Sins by which the *Name* and *Doctrine of our Lord* is so exceedingly blasphemed? who are so far from being fearful to offend in lesser matters, that they do run into excess of Riot without Fear, and *rush into Iniquity as the Horse doth into the Battel?* who are so far from saying with the *Royal Psalmist*, *Depart from me ye Wicked*, that their continual Delight is in the Company of men of most debauched and vicious Lives? and lastly, who instead of laying a Restraint upon, do *make Provisions for the Flesh?* If scoffing at *Religion* and *religious* things, if *Atheistical* Discourses, if swearing, cursing, damning of themselves and others, if scandalous Neglect and Profanation of God's Day and Ordinances, if Drunkenness and revelling, if Whoredom and Uncleanness, can evidence that Men have lost even *the Form of Godliness*, we need not light a Candle to find a Multitude of such who are concerned in this Reproof. These are the Men who are so fierce against, so ready to condemn, all those who make a shew of Godliness; whereas, were they as bad as such profane ungodly Wretches represent them to the World, God's Providence may more befriend them than Persons openly profane, and void even of the form of Godliness, since by this Form they bring some Glory to God, by owning him as worthy of all the Homage they can pay unto him, and by their great Concernment for the Honour of his Name, his Day, his Ordinances. They, by their outward Worship,

give God the Honour of his Sovereignty and of his Greatness; they, by their Prayers, acknowledge his Omnipotence and his Ability to help us; his kindness and his readiness to hear and give a gracious Answer to the Prayers of his humble Supplicants; by their Addresses to him in their Straights and Exigencies they own his over-ruling *Providence*; and by their publick Praises they acknowledge him to be their noble Benefactor, and the sole Author of all the Mercies they enjoy: they bring some credit to Religion by keeping up the Reputation and Profession of it, and seeming so concerned to promote it; whereas God and Religion are exceedingly dishonoured by the profane and wicked Man. And therefore 'tis not to be wondered, that *Providence* should rather chuse to countenance even this Form of Godliness, than to permit that *profane* Spirit to reign, which doth so horribly blaspheme the Name and Doctrine of our Lord and *Saviour*. And if our *Church* and *Kingdom* be still in danger from the *Scribe* and *Pharisee*, they are as much in danger from the *Publican and Sinner*.

3. What hath been said will be sufficient to convince us of the Hypocrisie of some among us, who have past for very Godly and Religious Persons. The Context clearly doth pronounce this Sentence upon the *covetous*, 2Tim.3.2,3,4. *the proud*, and *the high-minded*; on the *Blasphemer* or *evil-speaker*, and the *false Accuser*; on the *incontinent*, *unholy*, and *despiser of them that are good*; on the *fierce*, *heady*, *cruel*, and on *the Lovers of themselves*, or *of their Pleasures more than God*; and if these Men in this our *Nation* were excluded from the number of sincere upright *Christians*, as at the last day they will be, how small would be *the remnant of the true Israelites*? This Sentence is particularly denounced against those *Godly Traitors*, *v.* 4. and those Religious *Rebels*, *v.* 3. whose Zeal for God, and the Advancement of *Christ's Kingdom*, as they blasphemously pretended, engaged them in that *Resistance* of the *Higher Powers*, on which the Scriptures doth pronounce *Damnation*. I know not any Persons who more pretended Godliness than they; they had their monthly Fasts to beg a Blessing on their *Rebellious* Enterprises, and their Thanksgivings that they were prosperous *Rebels*; they would pray long, and preach long, and would be very scrupulous in lesser matters, but being *Traytors*, and *disobedient* both to their *sacred* and *civil Governours*, being *Truce-breakers*, and *Violaters* of the *Oaths* of their *Allegiance*; they had, saith the *Apostle*, only a Form of Godliness, but they denied the Power thereof.

Now the Power of Godliness, as it here stands opposed to the Form, doth signifie the Virtue and the Efficacy of it to produce within us those Actions and Dispositions which evidence that we are truly godly, and which the *Scripture* calls *the Fruits of Righteousness*: for as the Power of Fire, or of the *Sun*, denotes the Virtue which these Creatures have to scorch, burn, melt, or to perform any other Action suitable unto the nature of those Powers; even so the Power of Godliness must be supposed to import the Efficacy of it, to produce within us those Effects wherein the Truth of Godliness consists. Now,

1. The

1. The Power of Godliness consists in the due Regulation of our Passions and Affections, and the Subjection of them to the Rules of Reason enlightned by the Word of God. For, first, What is the ground of all that *Atheism* and Irreligion which is in the World, but an irregularity of these our fleshly Appetites and Passions; a dissolute and sensual Life being the Cause as well as the Result of *Atheism*; it being that which doth provoke the righteous God to give men up *to strong Delusions*, or to the Power of the *Prince* of Darkness, and that which renders it their Interest that there should be, and therefore causeth it to be their Judgment, that there is no future Punishments. What are all sinful Lusts, but, in the Scripture Language, ἐπιθυμίαι τῆς Σαρκὸς, *the Lustings of the Flesh*, θελήματα, παθήματα, φρονήματα Σαρκὸς, the *Passions*, the *Desires*, the *Wisdom of the Flesh*, or sensual Appetite, exalting of it self against the Wisdom of the Spirit, or the prescriptions of right Reason? What are those fleshly Lusts which we are call'd to mortifie that we may live, but those Irregularities of our concupiscible Passions, which move us to pursue what seemeth grateful to our Senses; viz. *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Uncleanness*, *Lasciviousness*, *Drunkenness*, *Intemperance*, *Revelling*, Gal. 5. 19, 21. *Theft*, *Covetousness*, *Rapaciousness*, 1 Cor. 6. 9. and the extravagances of our irascible Passions, viz. *Hatred*, and *Envy*, *Emulation*, *Wrath*, *Anger*, and *Bitterness of Spirit*, with their intemperate Effects, *Strife*, *Variance*, *Schism*, *Sedition*, *Murther*, *reviling*, *clamorous*, *blaspheming Speeches*, and *Pride*, which, saith the *Wiseman*, do provoke us to them? Whence is it that the wicked Man is still in *Scripture* call'd the *Fool*? whence is he said to sin against the Dictates of his Conscience, but that he acts in Contradiction to his enlightned Reason? And, on the other hand, what is the business of *Religion*, as it is represented by St. *Paul*, but to instruct us to perform τὴν λογικὴν λατρεῖαν, *a reasonable Service*? What is the difference betwixt that Wisdom which is from above, and that which, saith St. *James*, is *earthly*, *sensual*, and *devilish*, but that this last is still attended with *bitter Zeal*, and *a contentious Spirit*; whereas the heavenly Wisdom is *chaste* and *peaceable*, *gentle*, and *easie to be entreated*? *The power of Godliness* is often said in Scripture to express it self in the Purification of the Heart; *The Fear of the Lord is pure*, Psal. 19. 9. *The Circumcision of the Heart*; is that which doth alone commend us to God, and make us truly what we do outwardly profess to be, *Rom.* 2. 29. This is of absolute Necessity to our Enjoyment of the God of Purity; for χωρὶς ἁγιασμοῦ, *without Purification none shall see the Lord*: and of that Beatifick Vision none, who have purity of Heart, can fail. And seeing, as our *Saviour* saith, out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh, and out of that defiled Fountain the Streams of evil Actions flow, the pure Heart must produce purity of Life and Conversation, and the impure Heart must sometimes shew it self in Actions suitable to its nature. Now what is it that doth *defile the Heart*, but those corrupt Affections which are in it? What is it therefore to be pure in heart, but to be free from those inordinate Affections and unbridled Passions? Again, what is it to live godly, but to be Men of upright, perfect Hearts toward God,

2 Thess. 2. 11.
2 Cor. 4. 4.
Eph. 2. 3.
Gal. 5. 24.
Rom. 8. 7.
Gal. 5. 19, 21.
Eph. 4. 31.
Prov. 13. 10.
Rom. 12. 1.
Jam. 3. 15.
v. 14.
v. 17.
Heb. 12. 14.
Matth. 5. 8.
Matt. 12. 34.
Matth. 5. 8.
Mark 7. 27.

to keep a good and honest Conscience? And what is this but to act suitably to the Convictions of our Reasons, enlightned by the Word of God? Lastly, What is it to live godly, but so to live as that we crucifie the Flesh with the Affections and Lusts? for, *if we live after the Flesh, we shall die; but if through the Spirit we mortifie the deeds of the Flesh, we shall live.* Now what is it to mortifie these Lusts, but to curb their irrational Extravagances, or keep them in due mein, or in subjection to the Laws of Prudence. Man, say the *Ancients*, doth consist, ἐξ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀρχομένου, of something in him which must be ruled and moderated; and that, say they, is, τὸ θυμικὸν, the sensual Appetite, and something which is given him to be, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, the Guide and Moderator of that Appetite; *viz.* that Reason which the *Wiseman* stiles *the Candle of the Lord.* When therefore we do act according to the Directions of this Guide; when we permit the inward Principle to govern all our Appetites and Passions, we must act regularly, or in the Language of the *Ancients*, κατὰ φύσιν. But when we follow the Inclinations of our blind Affections and ungovern'd Passions, our Actions must be sinful and irregular; and therefore Virtue is by the great Philosopher defin'd to be, the observing of the mein in all our Passions according to the Rules of Prudence. When therefore our Religion hath prevail'd over our irascible Passions, and made us meek, sedate, and peaceable, patient, long-suffering, and ready to forgive; when it will not permit us to retain Envy, and Malice, Hatred and Anger in our Breasts, or vent our Choler in reviling, clamorous, calumniating, or bitter Words, which are all fleshly Lusts, or their Productions; when it hath fill'd our Souls with Love, Kindness, Goodness, Bowels of Mercy and Compassion towards all Mankind, which are the Fruits of the good Spirit; when it hath so far moderated our concupiscible Passions that we love nothing but in subordination to God, have no great zeal or hatred against any thing, but as it tends to his Dishonour, and our Souls Estrangement from him, desire and hope for nothing in the World but with Submission to him, and fear nothing so much as to offend him; when we can readily abstain from any sensual Pleasure, quit any outward Comforts without excess of Sorrow, and be content to want, or to enjoy all worldly things, as seemeth best to Providence to give or to deny them; then have we the true Power of Godliness. That this was anciently esteemed the genuine effect of true Religion, we learn from that Expression of *Lactantius*; *Give me an angry, fierce, and foul-mouthed Person, with a few Words of God he shall become as mild and gentle as a Lamb. Give me a covetous, griping Person, this Word will make him liberal and open handed; 'twill make him who once trembled at the Thoughts of Death and Pain, to contemn both the Cross and Flames; 'twill make the lustful and adulterous Ruffian to become sober, chaste, and continent; the cruel bloody Man be kind and merciful; and the unjust to give every one his due,* Tanta divinæ sapientiæ vis est, ut in hominis pectus infusa, matrem delictorum stultitiam uno semel impetu expellat. *Of such a Power is this heavenly Wisdom, that, being once embraced, it instantly expels that Folly which is the Mother of all Vice.*

Rom. 8. 13.

Aristot. Moral. Eudem. l. 7. c. 15.

Prov. 20. 27.

Gal. 5. 22.

Da mihi virum qui sit iracundus, &c. l. 3. c. 26.

2. The Power of Godliness consists in self-denial and the entire Subjection of our Wills unto the Will of God. *If any Man will come after me*, saith Christ, *he must deny himself, take up his Cross, and follow me.* i. e. If he would be indeed a *Christian*, he must put on a stedfast Resolution to quit all the Enjoyments, Honours, and Pleasures of the World, his dearest Relatives, and even Life it self, if it be needful, for my sake; he must take up his Cross, submitting his own Will unto the Will of Providence, and being ready patiently to suffer any fiery Tryals for the sake of Christ, and he must follow me, yielding Obedience to my Will of Precept. *The Weapons of our Warfare*, saith St. *Paul*, *are powerful to the pulling down of strong Holds, removing all that opposition* which is in our Hearts, Wills, and Affections to a holy Life, and *casting down*, πᾶν ὕψωμα κ, λογισμόν, all pride of Soul which will not suffer it to yield, all carnal Reasonings which Flesh and Blood suggest against Obedience to the Laws of God. And what is all Impiety, but the opposing of our Wills unto the Will of God? and wherein doth consist the substance of Religion, but in Obedience to, and in Compliance with his Precepts, which are the Indications of his Will? What therefore can true Piety import, but the surrendring up our Wills unto the Conduct of the Will of God? What is that self-denial which the Scripture calls for as the great Duty of *Christianity*, but the submission of our Wills unto our Master's Pleasure in those things which seem most grievous to Flesh and Blood, and most to thwart our Pleasures and our worldly Appetites? And what is it to mortifie our fleshly Lusts, but to reduce all these Desires and Affections to a compliance with God's Will of Precept? And this is in effect the same with placing Godliness in a prevailing Love to God, which Love to God *with all our Hearts, and all our Souls*, is, saith our Lord, *the greatest*, and *the first Commandment*. 'Tis that from which all other Duties which we owe to God will naturally flow; for, what can be more natural than cheerfully to serve the Person whom we chiefly love, and carefully avoid what we conceive displeasing to him? If we *love Pleasure more than God*, saith our *Apostle* here, we only have the Form of Godliness; and what he saith of Pleasures, may with like reason be affirmed of Honours and Enjoyments, Friends and Relatives, or any other worldly thing; we do but hypocritically profess to love God, if we love any of them more than him; and therefore, by the Rule of Contraries, then must we have the Power of Godliness when our Affection to God is greater than our Love to any of these things. Now, when is Love to God so prevalent, but when it doth effectually move us to part with our beloved *Dalilahs*, to cut off Hands, and pluck out Eyes? *i. e.* to quit those Pleasures and Enjoyments for his sake which seem as useful and desirable as an Hand or Eye. When therefore we so live, that in the general Course or Tenor of out Lives we seek not our own Honour, but the Honour of God, we do not study how to please our selves in worldly matters, but rather do endeavour to *walk before God unto all well-pleasing*; when we engage as well in Duties which are prejudicial to our worldly Interests, and full of Hazards, as those which minister unto our Pleasure

Mark 8. 34.

2 Cor. 10. 4, 5.

Mat. 22. 37, 38.

2 Tim. 3. 4.

1 John 2. 15.

and Advantage, and are entirely resolved, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, easie or difficult, pleasing or irksome unto Flesh and Blood, we will obey the Voice of the Lord, and act up to that Resolution; then do we in our Lives express the Power of Godliness.

3. As Godliness doth, in the larger acceptation of the Word, include *Justice* and *Charity* towards our *Neighbours*, so where the Power of it doth reside, it will express it self in conscientious performance of these Duties to him; it will possess us with a fervent Love to all Mankind, to Friend and Foe, to those who hate, as well as those who do respect us. This, saith our *Saviour*, is the Badge by which my true *Disciples* may be known; it is this Love to Enemies, this *doing good* to all, which will alone declare us to be *the Children* of the God of Love: this is proposed by Christ as a considerable part of our whole Duty, and pronounced like unto the *first* and *great Commandment*. St. *Paul* doth represent this Charity as the most excellent of Christian Graces, and therefore doth exhort us *above all things, to put on Charity*; he saith it is, τὸ τέλος ἡ ἀγάπη, *the end*, or the perfection, *of the whole Gospel Declaration*; *the fulfilling of the Law*, and the *very Band of Perfection*. St. *John* informs us, that it is Christ's *new Commandment*, the very Message which he came to deliver to the World, and the best Evidence that we are in a state of Grace; for hereby may *we know that we are passed from Death to Life, because we love the Brethren*. All which must be abundantly sufficient to assure us, that where this Charity and Mercy is, there is the Power of Godliness. But without this we can have no true Love to God; for *he who loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?* and all our specious Pretences and high Attainments, without this Charity, are nothing worth; for *in Christ Jesus nothing availeth but that Faith which works by Love*. A Form of Godliness may be sufficient to produce within us a strong Affection to a *Sect* or Party, this being visible in *Jew*, *Dissenter*, *Papist*, yea in *Publicans* and *Heathens*, saith our *Saviour*, for *do not even Publicans do so?* Mat. 5. 46. But 'tis the Power of Godliness alone which will enable us to love our Enemies, to be sweet and kind in our Behaviour towards all men, to rejoyce in their Prosperity, sympathize with them in their Miseries, relieve their Wants, redress their Evils, and contribute as much as in us lies unto their Happiness, to be patient towards our offending Brother, ready to forgive, and easie to be reconciled to him.

John 13. 35. Matth. 5. 45. Matth. 22. 39. 1 Cor. 13. *ult.* Col. 3. 14. 1 Tim. 1. 5. Rom. 13. 8. 1 John 3. 11. v. 14. 1 John 4. 20. 1 Cor. 13. 2. Gal. 5. 6.

Again, the Power of Godliness, where it resides, will certainly express it self in Acts of Righteousness and Justice, 'twill make us honest, upright, and fair-dealing men; careful to do no Injury to any, and ready still to deal with others as we would be dealt with. So that in reference to the fifth Commandment, to be a just and upright Person is to give due Respect and Honour to my *Superiours*, both *natural*, *civil*, and *spiritual*; not to permit my Heart to curse, or causlesly to judge or censure them, or my Tongue to *speak Evil of Dignities*. In reference to the sixth Commandment, 'tis to preserve the Life of others as much as in me lies, and to do nothing that may render it uncomfortable, when it is

in

in my Power to avoid so doing; to bear no Envy, Hatred, or Malice to my Neighbour, nor to indulge to any thought of doing mischief to him. In reference to the seventh, 'tis to preserve our selves and others from Impurity, not to desire any lustful Converse with them, or cause the Violation of that Faith which they have pledged to others. In reference to the eighth, 'tis to preserve my Neighbours Goods, not to defraud him of any thing which he possesseth, either by Words, as Lying, and false Swearing, Collusions, or Equivocations; or by our Deeds, as Stealing, Robbing, Over-reaching, Taking advantage of his Ignorance, or any other way; not to with-hold from any man his due, whether what we with-hold be due by Virtue of our Promise, or his Labour, his Trust reposed in us, or our Trespass committed against him. In reference to the ninth Commandment, to be a righteous honest man, is to be careful to preserve our Brothers Credit and good Name, not to defame him either by raising or spreading scandalous Reports against him, or willingly receiving them from others. Lastly, in reference to the tenth Commandment, it is to moderate our Desires, so that we do not envy others that Good which they enjoy, or long to have it in our own Possession; this being that Injustice of the Heart, which prompts us to proceed to the Injustice of the Hand. And albeit this honest Man hath been of late decry'd as a mere *moral Man*, by those who too much wanted *Honesty* themselves, yet is the practice of it represented, both in the *Old* and the *New Testament*, as a thing highly acceptable to God, and a sure Evidence of real Piety. Thus to do Justice is indeed *to know God*; this is the whole of that which he requires, even *to do Justice, and love Mercy, and to walk humbly with our God*; this is one of *the weighty matters of the Law*, saith Christ: it is a Fruit of the good Spirit; 'tis that in which Christ's Kingdom doth consist, and which will render us approved of God; this will procure our Admission into God's holy Hill; into which *he that walketh uprightly and worketh Righteousness shall surely enter*; whilst the dissembling, lying, dishonest, and false hearted *Saint*, and *Godly Knave*, will be most certainly excluded from these happy Mansions; for *God is the Avenger of all such*. The Violations of the Rules of Justice is a thing very hateful to him: *These*, saith he, *are the things that you shall do, Speak every Man the truth to his Neighbour, execute the Judgment of Truth and Peace in your Gates, and let none of you imagine Evil in your Hearts against his Neighbour, and love no false Oath, for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord.* One of the *Jewish Rabbies* reckons the *religious Villain* and *the holy Cheat* among those Persons *which bring Destruction on the World*. And truly he is one who carrieth a contradiction in his very Name to real Piety; he is a Scandal and Reproach to that Religion he professeth; he tempts Men to believe, that either his Religion doth allow such things, or to suspect that all Religion is but Policy, or a design to serve some worldly end; what Favour then can he expect from him whose Name and Doctrine he doth so horribly blaspheme? As therefore, my Beloved, you desire to avoid the dishonour of God, the scandal of that excellent Religion you profess; as you would not reproach the pra-

Jer. 22. 16. Micah 6. 8. Ephes. 5. 9. Rom. 14. 18. Psal. 15. 1, 2. 1 Thess. 4. 6. Zech. 8. 16, 17. Prov. 6. 16, 19. *K. Josua apud D. Pocock. Not. Miscell.* p. 353.

ctice of true Piety, nor caſt an *Odium* upon that Party which you moſt affect, or give occaſion to that *proverbial* Saying, *You will not ſwear, but you will lye and cheat*; as you deſire to be indeed, and be eſteem'd by God what you profeſs your ſelves to be, true godly men, or to avoid his Hatred here, and his eternal Wrath hereafter, *provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men.*

Now, that true Godlineſs conſiſts not in the outward Acts of Worſhip, or any of thoſe things in which I placed the Form of Godlineſs, but in the Regulation of our Paſſions, the Reſignation of our Wills unto the Will of God, in Purity of Heart, and a prevailing Love to God, and in the Acts of Charity and Juſtice to our Brother, will be farther evident,

1. From our *Lord's* Sermon in the *Mount*, which doth moſt fully preſs upon us the Performance of the higheſt Acts of Charity and Juſtice, Mercy, and Doing unto others as we would be dealt with, but is not ſo ſollicitous in preſſing outward Acts of Worſhip, which it doth only teach us to perform in a due manner, and ſo as to prevent that great Hypocriſie which was committed by the *Jewiſh Rabbies* in their Prayers and Faſtings. Moreover, among all the Bleſſings with which our Lord begins that Sermon, we find not one pronounced upon the Man that prays, or hears, or faſts or offers a large Sacrifice, or that is nice, and zealous, but only on *the pure in Heart*, the *merciful*, and the *Peace-maker*, the man that *thirſteth after Righteouſneſs*, that hearing *doth the Will of God.* The Precepts of the *Moral Law*, which in that Sermon *Chriſt* interprets, and reſcues from the falſe *Gloſſes* of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, are chiefly thoſe which do concern the Duties of the ſecond Table, and do preſcribe the Offices of Love and Juſtice to our Neighbour; the things which he there cautions us againſt, and chiefly labours to prevent, are *cauſleſs Anger*, *fleſhly Luſts*, *Vain-glory* and *Revenge*, *cenſorious Judging*, *worldly Cares*, and *covetous Deſires.* And laſtly, in that very Sermon he informs us, That he will certainly renounce at the laſt day ſome *eminent Profeſſors*, who did often *call him Lord*, *preach often in his Name*, and perform'd many *Miracles* for the Advancement of his Glory, as being *Workers of Iniquity.*

Mat. 7. 21, 24.

Mat. 7. 22.

2. When any Man conſulted him touching the things required to the obtainment of eternal Life, he never did direct them to make long Prayers, to offer coſtly Sacrifices, or to be much in faſting, but to be diligent in the performance of Love to God, and of the Duties of the ſecond Table; *This do*, ſaith he, *and thou ſhalt live:* and when a *Scribe* had made this frank Acknowledge, that *to love God with all our Hearts, and love our Neighbour as our ſelves, was more than all burnt Offerings and Sacrifices*, our *Saviour* repreſents him as a Perſon of good Underſtanding, who was not *far from the Kingdom of God.*

Luke 10. 38.

Mark 12. 34.

3. If we conſider all thoſe things in which we are in Scripture call'd to imitate our Lord's Example, and to *learn of him*, we do not in the Scripture find any expreſs Command to imitate him in his faſting forty days, his praying a whole Night, or in his Zeal ſhew'd to his *Father's* Houſe. But we expreſly are required to imitate *his Meekneſs and Humility*, his Self-denial and Contempt of worldly things, his Love, Kindneſs, and Tender-

Mat. 11. ult.

der-heartedneſs, his Bowels of Mercy, and readineſs to forgive, his Patience under Sufferings, his Purity and Righteouſneſs, and his Submiſſion to the Will of God. *Eph.* 4. 32. 5. 2. 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. 1 *Joh.* 3. 3.

4. If we enquire into the Fruits of the good Spirit, who is the Spring of all true Godlineſs, we ſhall not find that Prayer or Faſting, Preaching or Hearing, or any other Acts of outward Worſhip, are mentioned among them, tho by this Spirit alone we are enabled to perform them acceptably; but they are *Love, Joy, Peace, Long-ſuffering, Gentleneſs, Goodneſs, Faith, Meekneſs, Temperance*, Gal. 5. 22. *Truth, Goodneſs, Righteouſneſs*, Eph. 5. 9. Nor doth the *Scripture* promiſe the Bleſſings of a better Life unto our praying, hearing, reading, faſting, but to our *doing of the Will of God*, to the *humble, meek, righteous, charitable* Perſon. It is the adding to our *Faith, Virtue, Godlineſs, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience, brotherly Kindneſs, Charity*, which will *adminiſter to us an abundant Entrance into the heavenly Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour*. In a word, what are theſe outward Duties at the beſt but means of Grace? for what were they appointed but to be Helps, Aſſiſtances, and Motives unto Piety? to what end do we pray, and read, and hear, but to obtain Grace to ſerve God acceptably? and that by the Aſſiſtance of it we may be enabled to mortifie the Fleſh, and purifie the Heart? Now means are all inferiour to, and only good as they conduce unto the end. When we once come to Heaven, we ſhall pray, faſt, and attend upon the outward Ordinances no more, but then our Paſſions will be all regular, our Charity and our Obedience will be perfect; and therefore, by *St. Paul's* way of reaſoning touching the Grace of Charity, theſe muſt be Duties of an higher nature. Laſtly, could we advance to thoſe Perfections in which I place the Power of Godlineſs, without theſe outward means, they would be both accepted and rewarded by God; whereas without theſe Diſpoſitions all our praying, hearing, reading, faſting, are an Abomination to God, and only tend to aggravate our future doom. 'Twill be the Aggravation of our future Miſery, that, having been ſo well acquainted, by hearing, and by reading, with our *Maſter's* Will, we have not done it, our Prayers and Faſtings will be ſad Indications of our great Hypocriſie; they will accuſe us of mocking the Almighty, when by them we profeſs'd our great deſire to have ſtrength for the performance of his Will, our willingneſs to be revenged upon our ſelves for the Omiſſion of it, and yet when Grace ſufficient was vouchſafed did not improve it. This will convince us of our inſincerity in our pretended Zeal for the promotion of God's Glory, and fear in leſſer matters to offend him, that we had no true Zeal againſt thoſe Sins which reigned in us, nor did make Conſcience of obſerving the more eſſential and weighty matters of the Law. 2 Pet. 1. 6, 11 1 Cor. 13. 8. 13.

To conclude, We have ſeen the Exactneſs of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in the performance of theſe outward things, and how exceeding confident they were on theſe Accounts of Favour and Acceptance with God; and we have alſo ſeen with what great ſharpneſs our Lord rebukes their Confidence, ſtill repreſenting theſe renowned *Rabbies* as the vileſt *Hypocrites*,

crites, the *Children of the Devil*, a *Generation of Vipers*, that could not escape the *Damnation of Hell*; and that the thing which so incensed this *Lamb of God* against them, and made him almost to forget his Meekness, was their want of Charity and Justice, purity of Heart and Life, whilst they preserved a fair out-side towards men; whence he so vehemently exhorts them to *purifie the inward Man*. In the Records of the *Holy Prophets* we have found that this was the Disease of God's own People; they had the *Temple* of the Lord, the place of his peculiar Residence among them, thither they daily went to offer up their Prayers, their Sacrifices, their Oblations, and Thanksgivings for his peculiar Mercies to them; and whilst they constantly performed these things, they thought God could not but be pleased with their Persons, and that their Sacrifices would be a full Attonement for their Sins, when they had *bowed down their Heads like a Bulrush*, when they had wept, and fasted before God, although they did not *loose the Bands of Wickedness*: they take upon them the Boldness to expostulate the case with God, and murmur that their Services were not accepted; for *wherefore*, say they, *have we fasted, and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our Souls, and thou takest no knowledge?* To such a height of Confidence were they arrived from the Performance of these Duties. And therefore God seems much concern'd to let them know that he delighted not in their Oblations, that *he hated and despised their Feast-days, and would not smell in their solemn Assemblies*; that *their burnt Offerings were not acceptable, nor their Sacrifices sweet unto him*; that *he that killed an Oxe was as if he slew a Man; he that sacrificed a Lamb, as if he cut off a Dogs Neck; he that offered an Oblation, as if he offered Swines Blood; and he that burned Incense, as if he blessed an Idol.* Hence doth he call upon them with great earnestness *to put away the evil of their doings, to loose the bands of Wickedness, to undoe the heavy Burthens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every Yoke, to put away the Treasures of Wickedness kept in the Houses of the wicked, the scant Measure, the wicked Balance, and the Bag of deceitful Weights; not to oppress the Widow, nor the Fatherless, the Stranger or the Poor, nor to imagine evil in their Hearts against their Neighbour. To learn to do well, to seek Judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the Fatherless, plead for the Widow, to let Judgment run down as Waters, and Righteousness as a mighty Stream; to deal their Bread to the hungry, and bring the Poor, that are cast out, into their Houses; when they see the naked to cover him, and not to hide themselves from their own Flesh; to execute true Judgment, and shew Mercy and Compassion every Man to his Brother.* Whence we may learn these three Particulars;

Isa. 58. 3.

Amos 5. 21.

Jer. 6. 20.

Isa. 66. 3.

Isa. 58. 6.

Mic. 6. 10, 11.

Isa. 1. 17.

Amos 5. 24.

Isa. 58. 7.

Zech. 7. 9.

1. That we are very prone to rest in the performance of these outward Duties, and to be confident that they will purchase for us the Favour of the God of Heaven, although we do not add unto them those inward Fruits of Righteousness in which the Power of true Godliness consists: for wherefore was our Lord and all these *holy Prophets* so concerned to warn men of this great Mistake, were they not very prone to fall into it?

2. That

2. That we are naturally averſe from thoſe ſpiritual Duties in which the Life and Power of true Godlineſs conſiſts; for were it otherwiſe, why do the *Holy Prophets* and our dear Lord ſo oft inculcate, and with ſuch Vehemence exhort men to perform them? And,

3. That the Form of Godlineſs, without the Power of it, will be ſo far from miniſtring to our Acceptance here, or Happineſs hereafter, that it will be thrown back as Dung into our Faces, and be the greateſt Aggravation of our future doom: for if God ſo deſpiſed, and with ſo great Abomination did reject the Service of the *Jews* when 'twas not joyned with Obedience and inward Purity, with Acts of Charity and Juſtice, albeit their Religion was full of Shadows and of outward Ceremonies; how much more will he loath the Service of the formal *Chriſtian*, from whom he chiefly doth require a ſpiritual Worſhip, and an inward Holineſs? And oh! what pity is it that we who do ſo much to go to Heaven, ſhould do it to ſo bad or little purpoſe, that we ſhould wholly loſe the benefit and comfort of all our Prayers and Faſtings, Hearing and Reading, for want of Care to do what we do hear and read, and by our Prayers and Faſtings ſeem deſirous to do! or, that for want of doing more, we ſhould provoke God to reject with Hatred and Abomination what we have already done.

We being therefore apt to lie under theſe ſad Miſtakes which tend to the deſtruction of our precious Souls, can any of us take it ill that we are thus forewarned of them? Is it not reaſonable to preſs us to perform thoſe things which are ſo neceſſary to our Salvation and Acceptance with God, and from which we are naturally ſo averſe?

Wherefore, Beloved, let me beſeech you not to reſt in any outward Form of Godlineſs, but to advance unto the Power of it, by the ſubjection of your Wills unto the Will of God, and a prevailing Love unto him, by the due Moderation of your Paſſions and Affections, and the Purification of your Hearts from Anger, Malice, Envy, uncharitable Cenſures, Pride and Self-conceit, unclean and wicked Thoughts. Let us be careful that our Piety expreſs it ſelf in conſtant Acts of univerſal Charity, and Mercy, Juſtice, and upright Converſation towards Men, and in a peaceable Frame of Spirit: for if we only do expreſs it by liſting of our ſelves to ſuch a Party or Perſwaſion, or being zealous for it, by going to the Church, hearing a Sermon there, repeating it at home, faſting, receiving of the Sacrament, and leave theſe greater things undone, we only mock God with an outward Shew; but if unto this Form we add thoſe things in which the Life of Piety conſiſts, we have obtained that Godlineſs *which hath the Promiſe of this Life, and that which is to come.*

A SERMON PREACH'D

Before the *Militia* of the County of *Wilts*, at their marching against *MONMOUTH*.

TITUS 3. 1.

Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and obey Magistrates.

WE read in *Suidas*, that the *Cretians*, concerning whom St. *Paul* gives this Command to *Titus*, were prone to stir up one another to Sedition, and that the Preservation of their Liberties was the Pretence for their seditious Practices; moreover, in that *Island* dwelt swarms of *Jews* and *judaizing Christians*, who were, saith the *Apostle*, ἀνυπότακτοι, Men of a *Refractory and Seditious Spirit*. One of their wicked and seditious *Principles* was this, That *Servants were exempted from all Obligations of Obedience to their wicked Masters*: on which Account, St. *Peter*, in his Epistle to the dispersed *Jews*, saith thus, *Servants, be subject to your Masters in all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward*. Another of their *Rebellious Principles* was this, That *Christians were not obliged to submit, or yield Obedience to Heathen Governours*, for such they deem'd unworthy of that Honour, who were the Enemies of the true God, and his Religion. To cure this Distemper which tended to reproach *Christianity*, and represent it as destructive to the Peace and Quiet of all earthly Kingdoms, the *Apostle* here prescribes two Duties:

Titus 1. 9.

Vide 1 Tim. 6. 1, 3.

1 Pet. 2. 18.

1. ὑποτάσσεσθαι, *to yield Subjection to the Higher Powers*, not daring to resist, or to rise up in Opposition to them, when their Commands did thwart the Rules of *Christian* Faith, and when they used their Authority to punish *Christians* for the performance of their Duty towards God.

2. Πειθάρχειν, to yield a cheerful and sincere Obedience to them in all lawful matters.

The Persons whom they are here commanded to obey, and to be subject to, are, ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι, *Principalities and Powers*. Now because here the

the Words are in the Abstract, and in the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, run in the same manner, *let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*; Hence our late *Rebels* took occasion to separate *the Power* from the *Person* in whom that Power doth reside, declaring, That they were indeed obliged to preserve a *Magistracy*, and to be subject to some *Government* or other, but not to yield Subjection to the wicked *Magistrate*, or be obedient to the Commands of any *Higher Powers* in particular, unless they were *the Ministers of God for good unto them*; which in plain *English* doth import, That they are only then obliged to be subject to, or yield Obedience to the *Civil Magistrate*, when they themselves do like it, or approve of his Commands. And truly it must be confess'd, that some *Great Fathers* seem to hint a like Distinction; for (*a*) *Jerom*, on the Text, speaks thus; *The Apostle here commands Obedience to the Power, not to the Men who are invested with it.* (*b*) St. *Chrysostom*, *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, say the same. *To govern and be govern'd is of God*, saith *Theodoret*, *but not the Government of wicked Persons; for the Power of wicked Men is not God's Ordinance.* But tho this of (*c*) Usurpers may be true, yet is it undeniable, that here, and in the 13th of the *Romans*, the *Apostle* speaks not of the Power in the Abstract, but of the *Governours* invested with it: for, 1. We are here bid to yield Obedience, and to be *subject* to these *Principalities* and *Powers*. Now no Subjection can be paid to any Office in the general, but only to the Persons who do execute that Office. And this is still more evident in the forementioned *Chapter* to the *Romans*, for there *the Powers*, v. 3. are the *Rulers*; *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers, for Rulers are not a terror to good Works*. The *Power* is *the Minister of God*, v. 3, 4. *Will thou not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, for he is the Minister of God to thee for good.* Nor indeed can the *Power* abstracted from the Person of the *Magistrate* perform what is ascribed by St. *Paul* unto the *Higher Powers*; it neither can commend, encourage, avenge, or punish; it cannot *receive Custom, bear the Sword*, or *still attend upon the very thing*. Lastly, St. *Peter* plainly doth enjoyn Obedience to the *Prince* who is invested with this Power, saying, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake; to the King as Supreme*, &c. And therefore to affirm that it is lawful to resist the Person who doth execute this Wrath, provided we do own some *Government*, or some Authority to be God's Ordinance, is only to be *subtilly Rebellious*, and to distinguish to our own Damnation.

In locum.

1 Pet. 2. 13, &c.

(*a*) Ἀρχὰς, *quæ legunt in Græco magis Principatus quam principes sonant, & ipsam significant potestatem, non eos qui in potestate sunt hominem.* Hieron. in Tit. cap. 3.

(*b*) Οὐ περὶ τῆς ἀρχομένου ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄρχειν, ὃ γέγονεν ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι πονηροὶ, οὐκ ἂν ἦν· ἀγαθὸν δὲ μὴ ὂν Θεοῦ, Chrys. Hom. 23. in Rom. To. 3. p. 189. ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγος ἀρχόντων ταῦτα λύει, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς. Oecum. in Rom. 13. p. 353. Gr.

(*c*) And therefore other Fathers tell us, That *etiam nocentium potestas non est nisi à Deo. August. lib. de natura boni adv. Manich.* c. 32. That he who gave the Government to *Augustus*, *ipse & Neronem*, qui *Constantino Christiano*, *ipse Apostata Judæo*. *Idem de Civitat. Dei*, l. 5. c. 21. That *bona malaque potestas à Deo ordinatur*, *Isidor. Hispal. Sentent.* l. 3. c. 48.

Far-

Further, Observe that the Subjection and Obedience required in my Text is due, 1. to the *Supreme*, or *Highest Magistrate*; to the *Higher Powers*, saith St. *Paul*; to *the King as supreme*, saith *Peter*; and that according to a known Rule in *Logick*, that *Analogum per se positum*, &c. *What is affirmed of a thing in general, is chiefly to be understood of that which is the best and highest in that kind*: it being therefore in my Text affirmed, that Subjection and Obedience is due to *Principalities and Powers*, it must be chiefly due to *Supreme Princes* and the *Higher Powers*. Now he alone can be *Supreme* who hath none equal or *superiour* in *Power* to him, and therefore who cannot be judged, or called to account, and much less punished for what he doth by any Power upon Earth, according to these Words of the *Wise man*, *Where the Word of a King is there is Power, and who can say unto him, What dost thou?* And again, *A King is one against whom no Man can rise up*: now because he who is thus *supreme* is but a Man, and therefore is confined to a certain place, so that his Eyes cannot discern, nor can his Hands reach all Offenders, nor can he be sufficient, in his own Person, to perform all that is requisite to be done for Preservation of his Subjects, and for the Punishment of Evil-doers; it follows that he must commissionate *inferiour Magistrates* to do these things by an *Authority* derived from him, and therefore by just consequence we are obliged to yield Subjection and Obedience to all *inferiour Magistrates* who legally receive Commission from him, for God *quis facit per alium, id ipse facere judicatur*; that therefore must be deemed the *King's* Command which his *inferiour Magistrates*, by good Authority derived from him, lay upon us, according to that plain Expression of St. *Peter*, *Submit your selves to the King as supreme, and unto them who are commissionated by him, for so is the Will of God.* Eccles. 3. 4. Prov. 30. 32.

3. Observe that the Higher Powers then in Being when our Lord said *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, and *He that takes the Sword shall perish by it*, were *Tiberius*, and Men commissionated by him; and that when *Paul* and *Peter* wrote these Exhortations to Obedience, and did declare it was *Damnation* to resist, the Government was in the hands of *Claudius* and *Nero*. Now this *Tiberius* was a Man unnaturally cruel to his most near Relations, infamous for Drunkenness; his Lusts were so excessive, that *Suetonius* saith, they were incredible, and were scarce fit to be related. He was so far from being an Assertor of the Religion of the *Jews*, the only true Religion then in being, that he would not allow the Exercise thereof at *Rome*, but did inflict great Penalties on the Professors of it; under his Government the *Images* of *Cæsar* were brought into *Jerusalem* by *Pilate*, as an Affront to their Religion, and the Treasures of the *Temple* were seiz'd upon. He, by his *President*, did crucifie the *Holy Jesus*, and killed with the Sword St. *James*, the first of *Christian Bishops* there, so great an Adversary was he to the *Christian Faith*; and yet our *Saviour* owns that his Authority, even against himself, was from above, and that it was not lawful, in defence of his own Person, to take up the Sword against him. *Claudius* was a debauched and vicious Person, and barbarously cruel; *Suetonius* declares, that he was a very Prodigy of Lust, that he was of a most sal- Matt. 22. 21. Matt. 26. 52. Suet. c. 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 61. c. 36. John 19. 11.

c. 33, 34, 37. c. 25. Suet. c. 16. Tacit. l. 15. p. 363. salvage, bloody Temper: he was so great an Enemy to the right Worship of the only true God, that under the Name of *Jews* he banished the *Christians* from *Rome*. At the Command of *Nero* the *Christians* were exposed to the most *exquisite Punishments*, saith *Tacitus*: they were torn in pieces of Dogs, and *nailed to the Cross*, or being toul'd in Pitch, *were so committed to the Flames, and made to serve the use of Torches in the Night*. These were the *Persons* which the *Christians* of that Age in *Scripture* are forbidden to resist, and were commanded to obey in all things lawful to be done. So that from hence these two Conclusions will arise;

First, *That Christians must be subject to their Civil Magistrates, and in no Cases are allowed or authorised forcibly to resist, or to bear Arms against them.*

Secondly, *That in all lawful Matters they stand bound to yield active Obedience to the Commands of their Superiours.* And,

First, *That Christians must be subject to their Civil Magistrates, and in no Cases are allowed or authorised forcibly to resist, or take up Arms against them*, may be evident,

1. From those Expressions of the *Old Testament*, which reprehend and positively condemn all evil Speeches of the *Higher Powers*, which say, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People*; against which Text St. *Paul* confesseth he offended, when he said to the *High-Priest*, *God shall smite thee, thou whited Wall*, altho that *High-Priest* even then commanded that St. *Paul* should be smitten *contrary to the Law*, and so was an unrighteous Judge. And seeing by occasion of the Misgovernment of evil *Princes*, Men, through impatience of Spirit, might be apt to break forth into disloyal Thoughts and undutiful Affections to them, even when Fear restrains them from *seditious* Speeches or *rebellious* Practices, the *Wise-man* strictly doth prohibit even these Risings of the Heart against them, saying, *Curse not the King, no not in thy Thoughts*; do not wish any Evil to his Person, Crown, or Government, no not in thy most secret and inward Thoughts. Now hence I argue thus; If we may not *speak Evil of the Ruler of the People*, much less may we act Evil against him; if we may not revile him with the Tongue, we may not smite him with the Fist; if we may not say unto him *thou art wicked*, we cannot surely judge, or pass the Sentence on him as a wicked Person, and much less may we punish him as such; if we may not have an undutiful or *disloyal Thought* of him, much less may we do an undutiful or *disloyal Act* towards him.

Exod. 22. 28. Acts 23. 3. Eccles. 10. 20. Job 34. 18.

2. This will be farther evident from the Deportment of the Man after God's own Heart towards *King Saul*; for God himself had established this Law, *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee whom the Lord thy God shall chuse*; he also had rejected *Saul* and his whole Family from ruling over *Israel*, *The Lord hath rejected thee*, saith *Samuel* to *Saul*, *from being King*, he hath *rent the Kingdom from thee, and hath given it to a Neighbour of thine that is better than thou*: he saith not that *hereafter* he would rend it from him, but more expressly, *this day the Lord* hath done it. All this is said by the same *Prophet*, in the Name of the same God who chose *Saul King*, and before *all the People*. Again God saith to *Samuel*, not only

Deut. 17. 15. 1 Sam. 15. 26. 16. 12. 1 Sam. 15. 28, 30.

that

that he had *rejected Saul* from reigning over *Israel*, but also that he had provided for himself another *King*, whom instantly he sends him to anoint, without any Expressions of Reservation for the Life of *Saul*; and instantly upon this Unction, *the Spirit of the Lord*, the Spirit of Wisdom, Counsel and Government, *came upon* David *from that day forward, and departed from* Saul. He also *was accepted in the sight of all the People*; and what more plausible Pretences could be offered of Failure on the part of *Saul*, or of the actual investing of *David* in the *Kingly Government*? After all this, *Saul* persecutes him out of his Dominions, and drove him out from abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord, saying, *Go serve other Gods*. He casts a *Javelin* at him to smite him to the Wall; sends Messengers to his House to watch him, and slay him in the Morning. He declares that *he shall surely die*: and in pursuance of that bloody Resolution, he hunted him *as a Partridge in the Wilderness*, and pursued his Life to take it away: all this he did against him, tho there was neither *Evil, nor Transgression, nor Rebellion in his hand*. So that no subject in the World could have a better Plea for self-defence, or taking up the Sword on the Account of the *tyrannical* Deportment of a *King*, than he had against *Saul*; and yet behold with what * Abhorrence and Detestation he looks upon the stretching forth his hand against him. *Chalilah li Mejehovah, Abomination will be charged upon me from the Lord, if I stretch forth my Hand against the Lord's Anointed*; and again, *The Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my Hand against the Lord's Anointed*: yea, no sooner had he cut off *the Skirt of* Saul's *Robe*, but his *Heart smote him* for it. When Providence seemed twice to have delivered *Saul* into his Hands, and *Abishai* offered to smite him to the Earth, his Answer to *Abishai* was, *Destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless*? And lastly, when the *Amalakite* did at *Saul*'s own Request, when he was mortally wounded, and ready to be seiz'd by his Enemies, stretch forth his Hand against him, *David* revenged that Action by the Death of the *Amalakite*; nor is he ever charged in *Scripture* with Murther or Injustice for that Act: so that no Provocations, no Advantages, no Colour or Pretence of Right from God, or Failure on the part of *Saul*, could prevail with him to one Rebellious Attempt against the *Lord's Anointed*.

1 Sam. 16. 13, 14.
1 Sam. 18. 19.
ch. 18. 11.
ch. 19. 11.
ch. 20. 31.
ch. 24. 11.
Ibid.
1 Sa. 24. 6.
ch. 26. 11.
ch. 24. 5.
ch. 26. 9.

* This is an Instance on which the Fathers much insist, and often urge for the Suppression of all Rebellious Attempts and Practices: Οὐκ ἔχων ὅπῃ τὸ βίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ τὸ ἔρξον τὸ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπὶ τῷ τιμῶν τὸ ἐκείνῳ κατέφυγεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Χειρὸς Θεοῦ ἐστί. Τί λέγεις οὖσαν ὅπῃ μανεὶς, ἢ παμμίαρε Θ. ἢ μειζόνων γέμων κακῶν, ἢ τὰ ἐσχατα ἡμᾶς διαθεῖς; ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ προσταλαν τὸ ἡμετέρου ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢ ὑπ' ὅπῃ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ τί; ὅτι Χειρὸς Κυρίου ἐστὶν, ὑπ' ὅπῃ τὸ κρίνοντι ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ὅπῃ ἄλλου τινὸς ποιοῦντος αἰδέσιμον, καταφρονεῖς τῆς συνδούλης φύσης; αἰδεῖται τὸ Δεσπότου, ἵνα τὸν τὸ χειροτονήσαντα· φοβεῖται τὸ χειροτονήσαντα. Εἰ γὸ τὸν ἀρχοντας τούτους τὸν ὑπὸ βασιλέως χειροτονηθέντες καὶ πεμφθέντες, καὶ κλέπτας, καὶ λῃστὰς, καὶ ἄδικοι, καὶ ὅταν οὖσιν ἕτερον, ἐκδικοῦμεν ἢ περιοριζόμεθα, ὑ διὰ τὸ πομπείαν καταφρονοῦντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀξίαν τὸ χειροτονήσαντος δυναμένους, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὅπῃ τὸ Θεὸ τοῦτο χρὴ ποιεῖν. Οὕτω παρέλυσεν αὐτὸν, φησὶ, τὸ ἀρχὴς, ὑπὲ ἰδιότητα ἐποίησε, μὴ τοίνυν τὸ τέξιν ἀναζητῶμεν, μηδὲ τῷ Θεῷ πολεμῶμεν. Chrysost. Hom. 1. in David & Saul. to. 8. p. 16. lin. 27, 38. Basil of Silencia introduces David speaking thus. Παρέδωκε ἡ ἀυθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὑβρίζω τὸ δῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑ μιαίνω τὸ χεῖρα τοῖς ἁγίασι. Ζητῶ πάλιν, ἢ διώκω, τὸ φονεῦσαι, τὸ λυμῆναι λυσιτελέστερον. Orat. 16. Optatus makes him speak thus; *Sine causa me victoria provocat, frustrà me occasio in triumphos invitat, odebam hostem vincere, sed prius est divina præcepta servare; non inquit, mittam manus in unctum domini, repressit cum gladio manum, & dum timuit Deum, servavit inimicum.* adv. Parmen. l. 2. p. 60.

Now that which made it thus unlawful to rise up against him, could only be, that he received his Authority from God: since then all other lawful *Sovereigns* are by St. *Paul* declared to be, *the Ordinance and Ministers of God*, it must be as unlawful, in such Cases, to rise up against them.

Object. Now if to these things you oppose the Example of *Jeroboam*, and the ten Tribes who openly revolted from *Rehoboam*, who being Heir to *Solomon* was legally their *King*:

Answ. I answer, 1. That this Action of the ten Tribes is by God called a *Rebellion*; 1 Kings 12. 19. for the People having said, *What Portion have we in David, neither have we Inheritance in the Son of Jesse*, and it follows, *So Israel rebelled against the House of David to this Day*. Now what the God of Truth doth style *Rebellion*, that is, the rising up against that Person to whom they owe Allegiance, must certainly deserve that Character; so that God by calling that which the ten Tribes did, a *Rebellion*, doth thereby declare that *Rehoboam* was still their lawful *Sovereign*; for otherwise, their renouncing of him, and setting up another in his stead, would not have been a *Rebellion*. And therefore, when God declares, that this thing was from him, we must thus understand it, that it was permissively from him, that he left *Rehoboam* thus to his own Pride, he suffered *Satan* to encline him to hearken to the Counsel of his Young-men, and to despise the sage Advice of the *Elders*, and also to alienate the Hearts of *Israel* from him, that so he might fulfil his Threatnings against *Solomon* for his *Idolatry*, which he pronounced in these Words; *Forasmuch as this is done of thee,* 1 Kings 11. *and thou hast not kept my Covenant and my Statutes, which I have commanded* 11, 12. *thee, I will surely rend the Kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy Servant; notwithstanding in the days I will not do it, but I will rend it out of thy Sons hand:* v. 39. *I will for this afflict the Seed of David*. Now what is thus from God, may yet be Sin in him, or them, unto an high degree, who are the Executioners of his Punishments, and do accomplish his Decrees; as in the Instance of those Heathen *Kings* who vexed *Israel*, tho God permitted them to do so for his Peoples Punishment, *for God delivered them up into the hands of the Spoilers* Judg. 2. 14. *that spoiled them, and sold them into the hands of their Enemies round about*, and Jer. 30. 20. yet he was resolved to *punish all that oppressed them*. In the Case of *David*, 2 Sam. 24. whom the Lord moved to say, *Go number Israel and Judah, because his Wrath was kindled against Israel*, and yet he doth severely punish him on that Account; and in the instance of our *Saviour*'s Passion, for the People of *Israel* Act. 4. 28. and the *Gentiles* did only to him what *God's Hand and Counsel determined before to be done*, and yet they suffer severely for it to this day.

If it be still objected, That God by his Prophet *Ahijah* promised, that *he* 1 Kings 11. *would rend the Kingdom out of the hands of* Solomon, *and give ten Tribes to* Je- 31, 35. roboam; and again, that he *would take the Kingdom out of his Sons hands, and* 37, 38. *give it unto him, even ten Tribes*, and said, *I will take thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy Soul desireth, and shalt be King over Israel*: and that this must of necessity be done during the *Reign* of one of the Posterity and Seed of *David*, to whom the Government of these ten Tribes belonged by Right of Succession, God having promised that to his Son he would give one 1 Kin. 11. Tribe, that *David his Servant might have a Light before him always in Jerusa-*

lem:

lem; and again, *I will not take the whole Kingdom out of his hand.* And therefore that this could not be *Rebellion* in *Jeroboam* to take the Government of these ten Tribes upon him, whilst there was still surviving any Heir of *David* and *Solomon*, since otherwise he never could have had it, and so God's Promise could not have been fulfilled. And again, for the same reason that it could not be Rebellion in the ten Tribes to quit the Government of *Rehoboam* and embrace that of *Jeroboam*, because that *Rehoboam* was the *Legal Heir* of *Solomon*, since God had promised that he should have a *Legal Heir* for ever, and so they never could have submitted to *Jeroboam* without Rebellion, and so God's Promise could not have been fulfill'd. And lastly, if it be objected, that had this been Rebellion on the foresaid Account they must have been under a constant Obligation to revolt from *Jeroboam* and his Posterity to the House of *David*, which yet God never calleth them to do, nor condemneth them for not doing; and then the Gift God promised and performed to *Jeroboam* must be a Gift he was obliged in Conscience not to receive, because he could not do it without keeping another man's Subjects from that Allegiance they owed unto him, and therefore being instrumental to their continual Sin. I say, if it be thus objected, to confess ingeniously, *quo me vertam nescio*, I find it very difficult to avoid the strength of these Objections, which make some rather chuse to say this Action, tho very peccant upon various Accounts, was yet not formally Rebellion, because performed by a special Commission from God who gave to *Jeroboam* these ten Tribes, and by so doing transferred their Duty of Allegiance from *Rehoboam* unto him; which he might with good reason do, seeing *he is the King of Kings*, from whom all earthly Powers hold their Dominions, *Durante ejus beneplacito, who ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will*; and seeing, *secondly*, he was the Judge and Governour of *Rehoboam*, who had a Right to punish him and his *Fore-fathers*, how, and by whom, and unto what Degree he pleased, and therefore to the deprivation of all, or of the greater part of his whole Kingdom if he pleased: But then to argue, That because this Great *Sovereign* may do it to his Subjects, that therefore Subjects may do the like to their *Superiours*; That because *Jeroboam* might do this by an especial and particular Grant and Commission from the God of Heaven, That therefore others may do the like, tho they have no Commission of like nature from God, is as absurd as it would be for us to rob and spoil our Neighbours, and keep what we have borrowed of them without Restitution, because upon a special and particular Commission from the great *Lord of all things*, the *Israelites* did innocently deal so with the *Ægyptians*; or salvagely to butcher, or to cut off all *Papists* that do dwell among us, because they were commanded to do thus to the *Idolaters* in the Land of *Canaan*.

Dan. 4. 17.

2. I answer, It is not said in Scripture that *Jeroboam* rebelled against the House of *David*, but that *Israel* did so: their Action plainly seemeth to have been *Rebellion*, because it was an actual renouncing of their lawful *Sovereign*, without God's Warrant to them so to do; for they do with one Voice cry out, *What Portion have we in David, and what Inheritance have we in the Son of Jesse*, and thereupon depart from *Rehoboam*, and appoint *Jeroboam* to be

1 Kings 12. 19.

their *King*, without any Commission from God to do so. Moreover, they do this not out of any pretence of God's rejecting *Rehoboam*, but only for this Cause, That he refused to make their Yoke easie, and to remove the pretended Burthens which his Father had laid upon them; and therefore they revolted upon Rebellious Principles. For, as a *Father* doth not forfeit his Authority over his Children, nor are they freed from that Obedience which they owe unto him by virtue of the Fifth Commandment, because he deals severely with them, and is not so indulgent to, or careful of them as he ought to be; so neither can the *King*, *i.e.* the *Father* of his Country, lose his Authority over his Subjects, because he governs them severely, or lays afflicting Burthens on them; nor can their Subjects be disobliged from that Obedience which they owe unto them upon those Accounts; for if *Servants*, as St. *Peter* saith, are to *obey* such *Masters* who are *froward* and *perverse*, i.e. severe in their Commands, and cruel in chastising them; if they with *Patience were to endure Grief, and suffer wrongfully for Conscience towards God*; if the *Angel* commanded *Hagar* even when her Mistress afflicted her, and dealt hardly with her, to return and *submit her self unto her Hands*; much more are Subjects to obey, and to continue in Obedience to their *Sovereign*, tho they be never so severely dealt with by them. But as for *Jeroboam*, he only took what God had promised to give him, by rending of ten Tribes out of the hands of *Rehoboam*, and in that very method in which it pleased God to make good his Promise; for the Text doth expressly say, this matter *was from God*, that *he might perform the Saying which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite unto Jeroboam the Son of Nebat*: and when the Subjects of *Rehoboam* assembled to fight with the Children of *Israel*, God, by his *Prophet*, doth forbid them, saying, *Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your Brethren the Children of Israel, for this thing is from me.* I therefore think of this whole matter thus; That *Jeroboam* was not guilty of any Usurpation which might render him a Rebel against *Rehoboam*; that the People were *Rebellious* in the Principle which moved them to revolt, and in revolting without Commission from God; but that upon this Declaration made by God's *Prophet* it became their Duty to own, and to submit to *Jeroboam* as their *King*.

1 Pet. 2. 18, 19.

Gen. 16. 6, 9.

1 Kings 12. 15.

v. 24.

Now seeing Christ came not to take away, or to diminish any of the Rights of *Princes*, but rather to establish and confirm them: Hence I infer, That the Resistance, whether in Word or Deed, which was forbidden in the Old, cannot be rationally thought to be approved in the New Testament; but rather we may rationally judge, that as our Saviour came to advance the other Duties of the Moral Law; so much more, by his suffering Religion, to advance this moral Precept of Honour and Submission to our *Superiours*. To which effect it is excellently observed by a very Learned Prelate, That *we find Christ and his Apostles frequently labouring to settle in the Consciences of men* their Obligations to *Obedience*, and patient suffering where they cannot actively obey, *but no where restraining, limiting, or particularly regulating the Office of Sovereign Powers* (much less permitting, or giving Power to their Subjects to limit or restrain their Power) *but leaving them to those general Rules which concern the Account and Duty of all Men in their several Stations, and to the*

The Lord Bishop of *Sarum*.

terms

terms whereupon the Providence of God was wont to ſettle the Princes and Governours of the World. Let the Rights of Cæſar *be what they will in reference to Tribute, Chriſt will not determine them: this he will, Thoſe things which belong to* Cæſar, *according to* Jus gentium, *muſt be rendred to him. He doth not examine* Pilate's *Power in caſe of Blaſphemy and Treaſon, but acknowledges* it to be of God, *and ſubmits.* And ſo likewiſe the *Apoſtles* ſeem to be unconcerned, as it were, *in the governing part of Civil Policy. No word is found in all their Writings, enquiring into the Rights of the* Roman *Emperours, who were Sovereign, or limiting the exerciſe of their Power: only thus much they take for certain, ſuch as they were, they were ordain'd of God, and they ſpend all their labour in founding deeply, and firmly eſtabliſhing that other part which concerns Obedience.* For the Scriptures of the *New Teſtament* do moſt expreſly call for our Subjection to, and as expreſly do forbid reſiſtance of the *Higher Powers. Let every Soul be ſubject to them,* ſaith St. *Paul*: ſo let him yield Subjection to them as never to *reſiſt* on any Provocation, Temptation, or ſpecious Pretence whatſoever; for, *Whoſoever doth reſiſt the Power, reſiſts the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt* (his Ordinance) *ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation. Be ſubject to every Ordinance of Man,* ſaith *Peter*, (*i. e.* to every Power daily ordained among men) *for the Lord's ſake*, (or for the ſake of him whoſe Ordinance they are) *whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto them that are ſent by him; for this is the Will of God, this is well-doing*, this is acting *as the Servants of God.* And though their Government ſhould be unjuſt, and they ſhould puniſh you only for keeping a good Conſcience, do you bear it patiently, for *this is thank worthy, if a Man for Conſcience toward God endure Grief, ſuffering wrongfully. If when we do well, and ſuffer for it, we take it patiently, this is acceptable with God*; this is to act according to our *Chriſtian* Calling, and the Example of that Lord whom we are bound to imitate: *For even hereunto were we called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an Example that we ſhould follow his Steps, who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he ſuffered, he did not* ſo much as *threaten.*

Rom. 13. 1, 2. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15, 16. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21.

1. Where in the firſt place note what hath already been made good, that the then preſent *Governours* were *cruel* and *tyrannical.* And,

2. The *Chriſtians*, to whom St. *Paul* and *Peter* directed theſe Commands, were Men of ſpotleſs Innocence, Men groaning under the Preſſures of the Croſs, and labouring under moſt heavy Perſecutions for the *Goſpel's* ſake. They were, ſaith the *Apoſtle Paul*, obnoxious to ſuch Afflictions as would have rendred them *of all Men the moſt miſerable*, had they not been ſupported by their *future Hopes.* They were *in Jeopardy every Hour, always delivered to Death for Jeſus ſake.* They *received the Word of God with much Affliction*, great *Tribulations*, and *Perſecutions*, and they *endured a great fight of Afflictions.* They were, ſaith *Peter*, ſubject to *manifold Temptations*, and fiery Tryals. But notwithſtanding all theſe Sufferings, their *Maſter* ſtrictly hath obliged them not to take up the Sword, not to reſiſt their cruel perſecuting *Magiſtrates*; but when

1 Cor. 15. 9. v. 30. 2 Cor. 4. 11. 1 Theſſ. 1. 6. 3. 4. 2 Theſſ. 1. 4. Heb. 10. 32. 1 Pet. 1. 6. 4. 12.

when they ſuffer wrongfully, for *doing well*, *for Conſcience towards God* to *take it patiently*. Whence it is clear, that by the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, it is unlawful to reſiſt the *Higher Powers* upon pretence of Male-adminiſtration, Tyranny, Injuſtice, or to rebel, for the Defence of our *Religion*, againſt the worſt of *Perſecuting Princes*. For if Reſiſtance, in the fore-mentioned Caſes, was a damning Sin, when can it be excuſable? and if it is the *Will of God*, that when his Servants ſuffer purely *for Conſcience towards God*, and are *delivered to Death for Jeſus ſake*, they ſhould then bear it patiently, when can it be ſuppoſed, agreeable unto his Will, that *Chriſtians* ſhould reſiſt the *Higher Powers*?

2. Obſerve, that when theſe Precepts were delivered, there was then, in the *Imperial City*, a *Senate* (ſomewhat like our *Parliament*, or *Houſe of Commons*) yea ſuch a *Senate* by whom the *Emperours* or *Higher Powers*, then in being, were elected, and by whoſe Election they became the Ordinance of God, having no Right unto that *Character* till they were thus elected; for as *Grotius* truly notes, and proves, "Electio Imperatoris ad populum pertinebat, & aliquoties à populo per ſe, aut per Senatum facta eſt, quæ autem à Legionibus modo his, modo illis, fiebant Electiones, non erant ratæ ex jure Legionum (nam in vago nomine jus certum eſſe non poterat) ſed ex approbatione populi. Examples of which Elections made or approved by the *Senate*, he gives many in his Notes upon that Section. And yet the Scripture takes no notice of this *Senate*, it doth not limit the Obedience of the *Chriſtians* of thoſe times to things commanded by the *Emperours* and not forbidden by the *Roman Senate*; it doth not ſay, Obey them till that *Senate*, which at firſt choſe them, or approved of them, do again reject them; but plainly, and without exception, doth enjoyn us not to reſiſt the *Higher Powers*. The Taxing, or Enrolling, at the Birth of *Chriſt*, was by the *Decree*, not of the *Senate*, but *Auguſtus*; the Tribute-money had *Cæſar's Image* and Inſcription on it, and therefore, by our Saviour's Argument, did ſhew that *Cæſar* was to be obey'd. St. *Paul's* Appeal was made not to the *Roman Senate*, but to *Cæſar*, *at whoſe Judgment-Seat*, ſaith he, *I ought to be judged*. The Submiſſion which St. *Peter* ſpeaks of, is *to the King as Supreme*. So that the Spirit of God ſeems plainly to condemn thoſe ſpecious Pleas and *politick* Pretences which our late *Rebels* made to Juſtifie their Inſurrection againſt our *Cæſar* and his *Imperial Crown*, by virtue of a pretended Power derived from *Lords* or *Commons*, who neither do elect nor approve of our *Kings* before they have a Right unto their Government, and who are moſt apparently *inferiour* to him, ſince he gives being to both thoſe *Houſes* by his *Writ*, continues them at his own Pleaſure, adjourns, prorogueth, and diſſolves them *pro Imperio*.

De Jure Belli, l. 2. c. 9. §. 11.

Luke 2. 1.

Acts 20. 10, 11.

Argument 2. 2. Chriſtians muſt not reſiſt the *Higher Powers* becauſe they cannot do it without Reſiſtance of *the Ordinance of God*. That *Magiſtracy* is *God's Ordinance*, that *Supreme Powers* are the *Miniſters of God*, and

and not of Men, that they do act by an Authority derived from him, and not from men, even when by the *Election* of Man they become the *Higher Powers*, is evident from *Scripture*, and from *Reason*. From *Scripture*, which doth often stile them *Gods*, and *the Children of the Most High*. His *Servants*, his *Anointed*, as *Saul* is often stiled, even after that *God's Spirit* was departed from him, and *David* by his *Prophet* was anointed *King*. Now as no Man can be *Vicegerent* to an earthly *Prince*, but by his Order and Commission; so can no *Sovereign Prince* be *God's Vicegerent* without the *Ordinance*, or the Commission of the God of *Heaven* to act as his *immediate Officer* on Earth. And suitably to this Assertion, the *Apostle* hath declared of the *Supreme Authority* in being then, what is as true, by parity of Reason, of those in being now, that they were all *the Ordinance of God, the Ministers of God, the Officers of God*; that *there is no Power but of God*, and that *the Powers that be are ordained of God*. And even that Power which *Pontius Pilate* did abuse to the condemning of our *Saviour*, was, by our *Lord's* Confession, from *above*; for *thou*, saith he, *could'st have no Power at all against me, unless it were given thee from above*. It also is extreamly evident from Reason; for what is more unlikely, than that *he, who is the God of Order, should, for the peace and good of lesser Societies in private Families, ordain the Authority of Parents over their Children, and the Headship of the Husband over the Wife; and yet should leave the more general and publick state of Mankind, which is of greatest Concernment, without any Government, which truly can be stiled his Ordinance*. It would moreover reflect unduly on Divine Goodness, to conceive, that it was not his Will that Justice, Righteousness, and Peace, should be preserved, and Goodness countenanced and rewarded by Men; that Evil-doers should be punished, and the Destroyers of his Image should suffer by the hand of Justice: and yet it cannot be conceived that he hath made Provision for these things, unless this *Governour* of all the Earth, this *Lord* of Life, to whom *Vengeance* doth primarily *belong*, hath constituted and ordained, that this his *Government* and Power should be committed to some Persons who thereupon should act as his *Vicegerents* here on Earth, and should be owned as his *Ordinance*. This therefore being true of all *Supreme Authority*, that 'tis *Potestas Dei vicaria*, a Ray of divine Majesty, that 'tis entrusted with that Power only which is from above, and representeth none but God, whosoever listeth up his Hands against it must be *a Fighter against God*; for if a cruel and bloodthirsty *Nero* is, as St. *Paul* asserts, the Ordinance of God, whosoever doth resist him must resist God's Ordinance; and if there is no Power, whether of *Nero* or *Domitian*, but from God, there can be no Resistance but from *Satan*. If even that Power which condemned the *Saviour* of the World, commenced from Heaven, all Insurrections against such Powers must certainly derive from Hell. In a word, "If "Government be the Constitution of God, to make forcible Opposition "against

Exod. 21. 6. Exod. 22. 28. 1 Sam. 2. 25. Psal. 82. 6. 1 Sam. 24. 6, 10. 26. 9, 11, 16, 23. 2 Sam. 1. 14, 16.

Rom. 13. 2, 4, 6.

Joh. 19. 11.

Faulkn. Christian Loyalty, P. 416.

Faulkn. ib. p. 427. "against it, must either be in design to have God's Authority subject to "them who so act, or at least, that themselves may not be subject unto "it; both which things are unreasonable, and include a resisting the Or-"dinance of God.

Argument 3. 3. No *Christian* Subjects must resist the *Higher Powers*, because they cannot do it without taking of the Sword, avenging of themselves, and claiming of the Power of Life and Death, and passing Judgment on their Fellow-Subjects; all which Prerogatives belong immediately to God, and by his Ordinance alone, or Grant to any Humane Powers. For God expressly saith, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it*, and hath commanded us, μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ, *not to resist* when we do suffer *Evil*. The Injury we do against our Fellow-Subjects is done to one of God's own Subjects, it is a Violation of his Law, and so it properly belongs to him to punish it. God also being Judge of all the Earth, all Acts of Judgment are declared to be *not for Man, but for the Lord*, because they are performed by an Authority derived from him. Moreover, it is by God *we live, and move, and have our Beings; he giveth to us Life and Breath, and all things.* No man can therefore wield the Sword of Justice, or use that Sword to take away his Brothers Life, but by Authority from the God of our Lives, by whom the *Higher Powers* are commissioned, and who are therefore said by his Authority to bear the Sword, and be his *Ministers* in executing Vengeance on the Evil-doer. And therefore when St. *Peter* did attempt to wield the Sword even in Christ's Cause, our Lord rebukes him, saying, *Put up thy Sword into its place, for all that take the Sword shall perish by it.* This is, saith *Musculus*, *Locus notandus omnibus subditis*, a place to be well noted by all Subjects: for,

Rom. 12. 19. Matt. 5. 39. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Act. 17. 25, 28. Matt. 26. 52.

1. This was a Cause wherein *Religion* and Civil Justice were both much concern'd: for, the malicious *Jews* were now pursuing their Design to put the blessed *Jesus* to an ignominious Death, to crucifie the true *Messiah*, and to extirpate his holy Doctrine from the Earth; and Justice never was more highly violated than in the Methods which they used to destroy *the Lord of Life*. And yet, when upon this occasion his *Disciples* said, *Master, shall we smite with the Sword?* he peremptorily forbids it, and checks St. *Peter*'s hasty use thereof; and this he doth, partly because, as he declared, his *Kingdom was not of this World*, and so his *Servants* should not *fight* for its Defence against *Authority*; partly because they could not do it in opposition to *Authority*, without the *taking of the Sword*; for he, saith *Austin* truly, *takes the Sword, who, when no lawful Power doth command, or authorise him so to do, useth Force of Arms to shed the Blood of others.*

Luke 22. 49. John 18. 36. *Contra Faustum Manich.* lib. 22. c. 70.

Secondly, Obſerve, that they who came to apprehend our *Saviour* were only ſome *Inferior Officers*, commiſſionated by the *Supreme Authority*, and yet they muſt not be reſiſted, ſaith our *Lord*.

Thirdly, If we conſider the Intention of the Perſon ſmiting, we ſhall find that he had no deſign, or purpoſe to *rebel* againſt, or to turn *Cæſar* out of his *Dominions*, but only to preſerve his *Maſter*; it therefore may be fairly pleaded in behalf of *Peter*, that he kept the Laws *inculpatæ tutelæ*, of *Self-defence*, that what he did was of a ſudden without deliberation, and that he did not kill out-right, but only wounded the *High Prieſts Servant*; and yet our *Saviour* not only doth diſlike the Action, but thinks it neceſſary to work a Miracle for reparation of the Injury done by it. If therefore to unſheath the Sword in *Chriſt*'s own Cauſe againſt the meaneſt Officer commiſſionated by the *Higher Powers*, be to uſurp it, what muſt it be to take it in our own? If to avenge our ſelves upon our Equals, be to uſurp on God's Prerogative, what muſt it be to offer to avenge our ſelves on our *Superiors*? If laſtly, it be murther to ſhed our Brother's blood without commiſſion from God, or his *Vicegerent*, then all, who fight againſt Authority, muſt become guilty of that ſin, and it will much concern them to conſider what St. *John* hath ſaid, *viz.* that *no Murtherer hath Eternal Life abiding in him.* 1 John. 3. 15.

And ſuitable unto theſe Principles of our *Religion*, is the Conſtitution of our *preſent Government*, which doth acknowledge, that the whole *Power of the Sword*, or the *Militia*, is *in the King*, and, that 'tis *Treaſon to levy War againſt him within the Realm, or without*, that juſtice regularly muſt be executed, and Vengeance recompenſed by Judges who receive commiſſion from him to do it *For our Sovereign Lord the King*, which is the current ſtyle both of our *Statutes*, and of their *Commiſſions*. That *the Crown of* England *hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately ſubject to God in all things touching the Regality of the ſame Crown, and to no other.* That *the Realm of* England *is an Empire governed by one Supreme Head and King, to whom a Body Politick of Spiritualty and Temporalty be bounden, and ought to bear, next to God, a natural, and humble obedience.* That both, or either Houſes of Parliament cannot, nor lawfully may *raiſe or levy any War, offenſive or defenſive againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors*, and laſtly, that it is *unlawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt him, or againſt thoſe who are commiſſionated by him.* 13 Car. 2. 1. 16 R. 2. 24 H. 8. 12. 13 Car. 2. 6. 14. 2, 3.

Fourthly, The *Chriſtian* ought not to reſiſt *Superiors*, becauſe He, by ſo doing, will caſt a great reproach upon the Name and Doctrine of our *Lord*, and give occaſion to renew that Calumny of *Jews* and *Heathens*, that our Lord was no Friend to *Cæſar*, that his *Diſciples* were the men, who by their Doctrine *turned the world upſide down*, and that *Chriſtianity* was inſtrumental to promote *Rebellions*, and give diſturbance to the *Civil Government*; and for this Cauſe *St. Peter* is ſo earneſt in his Exhortation *to ſubmit to every Ordinance of man for the Lords Sake*, that *by ſo doing Chriſtians* might *put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men*, who knowing nothing of the peace- *Argument* 4.

able and loyal Principles of *Christian* Faith, did represent it as destructive to the *Civil Government*, and prejudicial to the *Higher Powers*. And surely to pretend that *our Religion* doth allow such horrid Crimes, is most effectually to blaspheme our *Holy Calling*, and cast upon it an indelible Reproach. For if those *Jews* who gloried in the privilege of Circumcision, and yet were guilty of *Adultery*, *Theft*, *Sacrilege*, *blasphem'd the name of God among the Gentiles*, he must assuredly blaspheme it, who, being guilty of Sedition, Faction, and Resistance of the *Higher Powers*, doth glory in the name of *Christian*. And if the Name and Doctrine of our Lord is then *blasphemed*, when the *Wife* doth not yield Subjection to the *Husband*, and when the *Christian Servant* doth not yield Obedience to his *Master* in all things, must they not be blasphem'd much more, when *Subjects* do not yield Obedience to their *Prince*?

Rom. 2, 24.

Tit. 2, 6.

Add to this, that all the Pleas and specious Pretences which were used to justifie our late *Rebellions*, do cast on the *Apostles* and Pen-men of the *Holy Scriptures*, the Reproach of gross Dissimulation and Hypocrisie. For were it lawful to take up Arms against our *Governors*, when we conceiv'd them guilty of *Tyrannical abuse* of Power, when they became *a terror to good works*, and not to *evil* only, when they did seem to us to act against the good and welfare of the Kingdom, or against their *Coronation Oaths*, or when they did not rule according to Justice, or established Laws, or were it lawful to resist them in behalf of God, or to preserve the *true Religion*, or the *Publick Exercise* thereof; I say, were it in all, or any of these cases lawful for Subjects to resist the *Higher Powers*, the *Apostles* must dissemble, and deal hypocritically, when they, without all limitation or exception of any of these cases, do command Obedience *for the Lord's sake*, and do forbid resistance of the *Higher Powers*, even when they persecute us *for the sake of Righteousness*. Had they believed, intended, or secretly taught, that *Christians*, upon all, or any of the forementioned accounts, might be exempted from Subjection and Obedience to them, 'tis plain they acted not with that simplicity which might have reasonably been expected from the *Dispensers of the Gospel*. For if they verily believed, and knew that *Christianity* in any of these cases, did approve of the resistance of the *Higher Powers*, they plainly went about to deceive *Heathen Princes* with fair words, and sought, by making them believe that their Religion called men to suffer peaceably under their Government, and never to resist, to win them to receive, and own that Faith, which when they had embraced, they by experience should find that it taught no such matter. They said indeed in words, as plain as they could utter, That *Kings* were *Higher Powers*, who could not be resisted without the peril of *Damnation*, and that this was *the will of God*, That all should yield subjection to them; but yet it seems, they knew, that this was not the will of God, but that he did permit *Christians* to resist, as oft as they conceived their *Rulers* guilty of male-administration, or Enemies to their Religion, or Persecutors of them for the Cause of *Christ*. So plainly do the *Patrons* of *Resistance* cause *the Name and Doctrine of our Lord to be blasphemed*.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, All *Christians* are obliged to suffer patiently, and not resist when they are persecuted, when their Religion, which is dearer to them than their lives, doth suffer with them, and men endeavour to suppress, and utterly extirpate the Profession of it from the *Nation* where they live, because our Lord expressly hath declared, that *his Kingdom is not of this World*; whence his own inference is this, That *his Disciples must not fight*, no not in the defence of their *dear Lord*. He plainly tells them, that they must *bear the Cross*, and willingly must take it up; whereas, if *Christian* Faith did give a right to its *Professors* to defend themselves by Arms against the *Higher Powers*, it rather would oblige the *Christian* to take up the *Sword*, than to take up the *Cross*. Again, *Christianity* assures all the *Professors* of it, that they are *called to suffer*, that it is acceptable to God for them to suffer patiently for doing well, to suffer for the sake of Conscience, That 'tis their Duty to follow the Example of their *Saviour*, *who, when he suffered, threatned not, but did commit himself to him that judgeth righteously*. Nor, were it lawful for *Christians* to resist Authority, when their *Religion* was opposed, and they were punished for the *Profession* of it, they could not be obliged to suffer, but only when they wanted power to resist, and so it never could be said, that their *Religion*, but only that their weakness caused them to suffer. It could not truly be affirmed that they were *called*, but rather that they were *necessitated* to suffer; nor could they be true *Imitators* of that *Jesus*, who, when he could have summoned *twelve Legions of Angels* to his aid, chose rather to endure the *Cross*. *Argument* 5.

To these things I might add the *Oath of God*, by which we have been many of us bound not only *to bear true Allegiance* to the *Government* we now live under, but also *to defend it*, as far as we are able, *against all Conspiracies, and Insurrections*. I might remind you of the fierce wrath of God, not only against *Corah*, and his *Accomplices*, whom *the Earth swallowed up* for their *Rebellion* against *Moses*, but against *Zedekiah*, *Prince* of his own People, who having sworn Allegiance to an *Heathen King*, did violate that Covenant he had confirmed with the Oath of God. For this God doth expressly call *Rebellion*, expressing his great detestation of the Fact, and swearing twice *by his own Life*, that he would recompense this sin upon his head; He *made a Covenant with him, and took an Oath of him, but he rebelled against him——shall he prosper? shall he escape that doth such things? or shall he break the Covenant, and be delivered? As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the King dwelleth that made him King, whose Oath he despised, and whose Covenant he brake, with him, in the midst of* Babylon, *shall he dye. Seeing he despised the Oath by breaking the Covenant——he shall not escape. As I live, saith the Lord God, surely mine Oath that he hath despised, my Covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head*: And lastly, I might add, that this hath been the constant Doctrine of the most *Primitive*, and *Purest Ages* of the *Church*, That *Lawful Powers* were God's *Ordinances*, and in no cases, or upon no pretences were to be resisted by Ezek. 12, 15.

their Subjects. And throughout all the times of the *ten Persecutions* their Practice was agreeable to their Doctrine, there being found among them, saith *Tertullian*, not one *Rebel*; οὐδὲν στάσεως ἔργον, *not one Seditious Action*, saith *Origen*. But to omit these things, what hath been thus established by the Authority of *Scripture*, may farther be confirmed from the clear Principles of *Reason*, and from the Nature of *Societies*. For,

Ad Scap. c. 2. contr. celsum, l. 3. p. 115.

First, All Government is for mutual Defence; and for this end it is, that being free, they find it necessary to unite themselves into Societies, that by united Forces they may defend themselves, and their concerns from the Invasions of other men.

Secondly, Men cannot thus defend themselves, or thus agree to do it, but by consenting, that they shall be bound to follow the judgment or direction of some Person, or Persons in order to that Defence.

Thirdly, Men cannot be obliged to follow the directions of others, unless they be obliged to give up, or subject their wills unto the will of their *Superiors*; so that the will of their *Superiors* shall be accounted as the will of all; and unless He, or They who are intrusted with the Government, have an undoubted Right to use the Strength and Power of them all, as He or They conceit is most conducing to the preservation of the Common Good. And,

Fourthly, They who are thus obliged to give up their Wills and Power to another, and have consented so to do, must be deprived of any Right to revenge themselves, or to repel their Injuries without the Power of the *Magistrate*, and so they cannot take up Arms without his Power or Authority.

Corollary. Whence by the way, it follows, That the natural right of Self-defence and Preservation is so far from justifying any opposition or resistance of the *Higher Powers*, or the *Civil Government*, that by endeavouring to rebel against, or overturn it, that Right is also overturned, and the Foundations of it are removed. For, if we rightly understand the Phrase, it only signifies a right of entring into *Societies* for mutual Defence of seeking our own Preservation, by flying to the Justice or Protection of the Government, or using any other means which Nature doth allow, and from the use of which the *Government* doth not restrain us. And whosoever pleads, That every individual Person, though joyned in Society, hath still a natural right of Self-defence and Preservation, by repelling Force with Force, and that this is a Right inseparable, of which he cannot possibly devest himself by any Promise or Engagement, doth plainly give to every man a licence to resist *Superiors* whensoever he conceives it needful for his own Preservation so to do, and armeth every *Malefactor* against that *Ordinance of God*, which is appointed to be *a Terror to the Evil Doer*.

Argument 2. Again, this is a certain Principle, That *in all Civil Governments there must be a Supreme, from whose Authority lies no Appeal*; for if there be no last Appeal fixed in some Person, or Persons, mischief will be infinite, nor can our Controversies about Civil Matters ever be decided. That

Power,

Power, from which we cannot lawfully appeal, we cannot judge, we therefore cannot punish, we cannot be Avengers of it, and when we have no power to avenge our selves, we must be quiet.

Moreover they in vain unite for mutual defence under a *Governor*, who, when they have done this, cannot defend themselves against Natural Force; they cannot thus defend themselves, whose Strength is not united; whence it doth clearly follow, That there must be a Power in the *Supremacy*, wheresoever that is lodged, to unite as many of his Subjects for the defence of the Community, as shall seem necessary to him for that end. He cannot thus unite them who hath not power to compel them by punishments to such an Union: He cannot have just power to punish, whom it is lawful to resist: And therefore he who is *Supreme*, or *bears the Sword* in any *Government*, cannot be lawfully resisted.

Lastly, A *Supreme Governor* must be invested with that Power which is necessary for the administration of Justice, the securing Property, and the preserving peace and quiet in his own Dominions. No *Government* can make provision for these things, provided it be lawful for *Subjects*, in any case, to take up Arms against it; for then these *Subjects* must be Judges *when this case doth happen*. Now to assert a Right in *Subjects* to judge when they may lawfully resist, is plainly to assert, That they are only bound to yield Subjection as long as they themselves think fit, and that they may resist whensoever they shall think it requisite and needful so to do. Now, who can promise that the *Giddy Multitude* shall never judge amiss, and think it needful to resist when it is no such matter? what security can be had, upon this Supposition, against the passion, interest, ambition, and madness of such *Reformers* of the *Higher Powers*? Are not the judgments of the Common people apt to be imposed upon by the intrigues of an *Achitophel*? by the insinuating words, and popular deportment of a Goodly *Absalom*? May they not easily perswade the people, that they are greatly injured under the Government of a most upright *David*, and that no justice can be had, and therefore that 'tis requisite that they should right themselves by force of Arms? Thus would this plea reduce all Governments into Confusion and *Anarchy*, and turn the world into one great *Akeldama*, and make it vain for us to *pray for Kings, that under them we may lead peaceably and quiet lives*; for if the Subject hath a Right to judge when his *Prince* is guilty of male-administration in *Church* or *State*, and also to resist him as often as he doth so judge, in such a multitude of contrary Perswasions as do now abound, and such a number of half-witted *Politicians* as are now sprung up amongst us, what expectation can we have of any thing but tumults and confusion? But against this Assertion it is objected,

1 "That to sit still and see our selves inslaved, and robbed of our *Objection* 1.
"Liberties, is to be wanting to that natural affection which we owe unto
"our Country, and our selves, and that Self-preservation is the prime
"Law of nature; and therefore that resistance which is requisite unto Self-
"preservation must be natural, whence it must follow that all other Laws
"of equity and nature must give place unto it.

Besides

Answer. Besides what hath already been discourſed in Anſwer to this plea touching the Right of Self-defence and Preſervation, I Anſwer,

Firſt, That this plea might have more plauſibly been uſed by *Chriſt*, and by the *Primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity*, than it can now be uſed by any *Nation*, ſeing their Perſecutions were more heavy, the numbers of their ſlaughtered *Martyrs* greater than can be parallelled by any ſufferings of like nature from the ſeverity of any *Higher Powers* now in being, and it was clearly the deſign of all their cruel *Perſecutors*, to blot out their memorial from the Earth, and yet they patiently ſuffered, and were commanded ſo to do. And ſure no *Chriſtian* can be tempted to believe, that our *Dear Lord*, by his *Religion*, did ſubvert the fundamental Laws of nature, when he required his *Diſciples* to *take up the Croſs*, and ſuffer patiently for *doing well*; or that the *Primitive Martyrs* did violate the Laws of Nature in not reſiſting of their *Perſecutors*.

Secondly, If *evil may not be done that Good may follow*, then muſt we not endeavour to vindicate our *Country* from thoſe evils which *Providence* may bring upon it by that reſiſtance which is evil, but muſt, ſaith *Peter*, when
1 Pet. 4. 19. we thus ſuffer, *commit the keeping of our lives to him in well doing* who *knows*
2 Pet. 2. 9. beſt *how to deliver the Righteous*, and to diſpoſe of all things for his Childrens Good, and make *the wrath of man to praiſe him*. And,

Thirdly, If our Souls welfare be our higheſt intereſt, and theſe our Sufferings do cooperate to it, if our Afflictions for the ſake of Chriſt, work for us *an Eternal weight of Glory*, much better than our temporal concerns, and even life it ſelf; if to reſiſt will bring *Damnation*, and it be better to die once, than die eternally; then, in theſe caſes, to refuſe the *Croſs*, muſt be to labour to preſerve our bodies by the deſtruction of our ſouls, and ſo apparently to thwart the Preſervation of our ſelves.

Fourthly, Experience will inſtruct us, that patient ſuffering is the beſt method of Self-preſervation, and that the *Publick* will be greater ſufferers by *Civil Wars*, than the ſevereſt *Perſecution*; for this Nation has ſuffer'd more, and loſt more blood by one Rebellion upon pretence of Religion, than the whole Church did in all the ten famous Perſecutions.

Objection 2. "But would you have us then to ſuffer our Religion to be taken from us?

Anſwer. It is not in the power of any Creature to rob us of one Article of our Religion, or hinder us from being uprightly Religious towards God; for we believe with our hearts, our Religion doth conſiſt in loving *God with all our hearts, and our Neighbour as our ſelves*; and this we may ſtill do whatſoever may befal us, whereas by our Rebellion our Religion is blaſphemed and
2 Tim. 3. 4. truly loſt, it being a plain contradiction, to be a Religious Rebel, a Chriſtian that will not take up his Croſs. The *Traytor*, ſays St. *Paul*, may have *the form*, but he denies *the Power of Godlineſs*.

Secondly, If our Religion be of God, as we have little cauſe to doubt, he will aſſuredly protect it; whereas by our attempts to keep and to promote it by unlawful means, we but provoke God to be angry with us.

Thirdly, It pleaſed God at firſt to propogate the Chriſtian Faith, not by the

the Sword, but Christian patience, and things are best preserved by those means by which they were at first established. Had God thought fit thus to promote the Christian Faith, he could have armed the Apostles with sufficient power to confound their adversaries, which because he refused to do, it is evident he did not like that method of proceeding.

And now from what hath been delivered we may learn how reasonable is the injunction of my text; *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers*: how much it doth concern us to comply with that advice of *Solomon, My Son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, will be farther evident, if we consider, Prov. 24. 21.

First. How they in Scripture are represented who resist Authority, and become Rebels against Gods Vicegerents. The Holy Ghost brands them as *wicked men, ungodly men, sinners against their own Souls.* All this is spoken of *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram* when they rebelled against *Moses*: Where it deserves to be considered, that these men did pretend to stand up for their civil privileges, and their Religious Rights, and only pleaded against the Usurpations of their Superiors, who, in their Judgments, *took too much upon them.* They had both Lords and Commons on their sides, for presently 250 *Princes of the Congregation took part with them*, and the whole body of the people were gathered *against Moses and Aaron*; and yet this would not sanctify their Rebellion, nor preserve them from a most wonderful and dreadful ruin. Elsewhere the Scripture styles them, *sons of Belial*, as in these words, *the men of Belial despised Saul. Sheba a man of Belial hath blown a Trumpet against David.* They who *despise Dominions, and speak evil of Dignities*, are by St. *Peter*, and St. *Jude* pronounced *filthy Dreamers, unjust, presumptuous, self-will'd, audacious Persons*: and surely they who have regard to their own credit, or to these censures of the *Holy Ghost*, will carefully avoid those things, on which the Spirit of truth hath fixed such black and odious Characters: Especially if they consider, Num. 16. 26. Psal. 106. 18. Num. 16. 28. Num. 16. 2. Vers. 19. 1 Sam. 10. 27. 2 Sam. 20. 1.

Secondly, That this resistance will certainly expose the Rebel to the severest of Gods judgments; for (1) the God of truth hath by the Wiseman threatned a swift destruction to them, in these words, *Fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, for their destruction shall come suddenly*: This threat we find severely executed on *Corah*, and his Company, the first of Rebels that we read of against Gods Vicegerents, for they were all consumed in the very fact, they *went down quick into Hell, and the Earth closed upon them*, and so they *perished from among the Congregation.* God did destroy them by an unusual death to render their iniquity more dreadful to the world. Accordingly St. *Jude* informs us of the first Christian Rebels, those *filthy Dreamers, who despised Dominions*, that they did *perish in the gainsaying of Core*; in which words the *Apostle* useth the Aorist for the future Tense, speaking of their destruction as a thing past already, because he knew that Vengeance would not suffer them to live, for those impure *Gnosticks* and *Carpocratians*, of whom St. *Jude* is by some thought there to speak, rebelled with *Barcho Cheba*, and with him they perished, saith the learned *Grotius.* They who despise Num. 16. 33. Vers. 11.

Dominions

Dominions are by St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* declared to be men *of old ordained to condemnation*, that is, God hath of old declared his resolution to condemn such men. *Woe unto them*, saith St. *Jude*, *for God will execute his judgments on them for their ungodly deeds*; *Their judgment*, saith St. *Peter*, *doth not linger, and their damnation slumbers not*; so that if they escape the hand of Justice here, they have just reason to conclude they are reserved for condemnation in the world to come, for as St *Paul* declares, *He that resisteth shall receive damnation.*

FINIS.

A SERMON Preached AT THE ELECTION OF THE MAYOR OF SARUM,

ANNO DOMINI, 1683.

Septemb. 11. 1685.

Imprimatur. Henry Maurice, *Reverend. Archiep. Cant. à Sacris.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1685.

A

SERMON

Preached

AT THE

ELECTION

OF THE

MAYOR

OF

SARUM,

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THe two former Sermons were committed to the Press chiefly with a Design of doing Good to those deluded Souls, who, by the Pharisaical Opinions, and the false Characters, and Signs of Godliness, which are too frequent in the Writings of our late Dissenters, were gull'd into a fond conception, that they had the Power of Godliness, when they had scarce attained to the Form; and who were leaven'd with, and were encourag'd by their Rebellious Principles to that Resistance of the Higher Powers, to which Damnation is most plainly threatned in the Holy Scripture; finding therefore by Discourse with Mr. Nelthrop, who sent for me when he was in our County Prison, that the Ring-leaders of the late Rebellion chiefly relied upon the Principles of the late Author of Julian the Apostate, for the Justificatian of their Treasonable Practices against His present Majesty, whom God preserve; I thought it proper

in purſuance of the Deſign aforeſaid, to add this Sermon to them, though it contains ſomethings already handled in the ſecond, becauſe it fully, and I hope convincingly refuteth that Pernicious Principle ſlyly ſuggeſted by the Author of that Book. Viz.

P. 68. 71. "*That Chriſtian Subjects may defend by Force of Arms their* "*Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, againſt their Lawful Sovereign.* "*And that when their Religion is once thus Eſtabliſhed, they* "*may* purſue *a perſecuting* Julian, *even when He is their Law-*"*ful Sovereign,* as if he were a Mid-night Thief, or a

P. 73. "High-way Robber. *Now though theſe Rebels cannot without great Falſhood and Hypocriſie take Sanctuary here, ſeeing they had through the rich Goodneſs of our gracious Sovereign as great freedom in the exerciſe of the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, as ever they enjoyed; yet ſince this is become their chief Plea, and their laſt refuge, and ſeeing the plain conſequences of this Doctrine are moſt unchriſtian and pernicious, I ſubjoin this Sermon, where you will find this Propoſition oppoſed to it,* (viz.) It is not lawful for any Subjects to take the Sword, and by it to Reſiſt the Higher Powers in the Defence of a Religion Eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, *and I hope Eſtabliſhed upon Firm Principles of Reaſon, by*

Your Friend and Servant,

D. W.

ROM. 13. 1.

The Powers that be are ordained of God.

SInce this is a moſt certain truth which ſhineth with the brighteſt evidence of Reaſon, and of Revelation, That God is naturally the *Sovereign Lord*, and *Emperor* of the whole world, the *King of all the Earth*; *The King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*; Seeing he is exalted as head above all, and *Reigneth over all*, and hath decreed that all *Dominions ſhall obey*, and *ſerve him*: Seeing he is *the only Potentate*, and *the moſt High, who Ruleth in the Kingdom of men*, it follows by the cleareſt Conſequence, that all Authority, and all the Power of *Humane Governours* muſt be ſubordinate unto him; and imparted by him, that they are all the *Delegates*, *Vicegerents*, or, as St. *Paul* here ſtyles them, the *Officers*, *and Miniſters of God*. And ſeeing no man can lay claim to an Interiour and Dependant Office and Juriſdiction, or regularly exerciſe that Power but by Commiſſion, and Appointment of a *Superior Power* in whom that Juriſdiction doth originally reſide, it follows that no *Earthly Potentates*, who in the exerciſe of the ſupremeſt of their juriſdictions muſt be Inferior to, and Dependant on *the King of Kings*, can be inveſted with Power over other men but by Commiſſion from, and by appointment of that God who is *the King of all the Earth*; and that they all have Reaſon to confeſs with David, *Thine, O Lord, is the Kingdom.* Now becauſe the acknowledgment, and firm belief, that this is the true Fountain and Original of Humane Power, doth moſt effectually tend to enforce that due Subjection and Obedience to it, which is ſo neceſſary to be preſſed in this Age of Factions and Rebellions, that *We knowing whoſe Authority* our Rulers *have, may faithfully ſerve, honour, and humbly obey them in him, and for him*; and that *the Miniſter of God* may alſo be engaged to exerciſe that Power with which by God he is intruſted, as moſt conduceth to Gods Glory, That *knowing whoſe Miniſter he is, he may above all things ſeek his Honour and Glory.* I therefore judge it proper to inſiſt upon this Subject, which I ſhall proſecute with plainneſs and Sincerity; endeavouring to ſhew,

Pſal. 47. 2. 1 Chron. 29. 11, 12. Dan. 7. 27. Dan. 4. 25.

Διάκονοι, Rom. 13. 4. λειτουργοὶ θεῦ, v. 6.

1 Chr. 29.

I. What are the *Powers* mentioned in my Text.

II. In what Senſe they are ſaid to be *ordained by God.*

III. What Evidence there is from Reaſon and from Scripture, that they are *his Ordinance.* And,

IV. What improvement may be made of this Doctrine.

And

And *First*, Men willing to diſpute themſelves into *Rebellion*, have been ſo *Critical*, and Nice as to diſtinguiſh here betwixt the *Power*, and the *Perſon* who is inveſted with it, confeſſing that indeed the Office of *Magiſtracy* is the Ordinance of God, but denying that the *Magiſtrate* or Perſon who doth execute the Office, is *his Ordinance*. Fond and Abſurd! For it is as if I ſhould diſtinguiſh the Office of the *Majoralty* of *Sarum* from the *Mayor* of *Sarum*, which Office neither is nor can be exerciſed but by a *Mayor*, and muſt be a bare name without him, and ſhould ſay, that *the Majoralty of Sarum* is the *Kings Ordinance*, but that the *Mayor* of *Sarum* is not ſo. Moreover,

Secondly, The word here uſed is *Powers*, not *Power* in the ſingular, whereas no inſtance can be given in *Scripture*, and no propriety of Speech allows, that the *Authority* abſtractly taken ſhould be ſo ſpoken off. And,

Thirdly, The *Authority*, abſtracted from the perſon Authoriſed, can never be the ſubject of what is here aſcribed to the *Powers*; for we cannot *reſiſt*, or yield obedience to the *Magiſtracy*, but by reſiſting, or obeying him who is a *Magiſtrate*. *Authority* in the abſtract, where there is none to exerciſe it, cannot be *feared*, nor can it give us *praiſe* for doing well, nor be a *terror*, or an *Avenger* of wrath *to him that doeth evil*; it cannot receive *Cuſtom*, *Tribute*, or challenge *fear*, or *honour*; it therefore cannot be the bare *Authority*, but only *Authoriſed perſons* to whom theſe duties are enjoyned, and theſe effects aſcribed.

Fourthly, As if, St. *Paul* had actually deſigned to obviate this fond evaſion, he himſelf thus interprets the *Powers* to be *the Rulers*, and *the Miniſters* in whom the *Power* is lodged; for thus he ſpeaks, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers*, for *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.* And again, *Wilt thou not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame, for he is the Miniſter of God to thee for Good.*

Fifthly, St. *Peter* plainly doth enjoin obedience to the *Prince*, who is inveſted with this power *for the Lords ſake*, whoſe Miniſter he is; ſaying, *Be ſubject unto every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*: ——*to the King as Supreme. And*,

Laſtly, The deſign of the Sacred Writers of the *Goſpel* was undoubtedly to ſecure the peace and quiet of the world, to forbid all *Reſiſtance of the Higher Powers*, and to ſtop the mouths of thoſe ignorant and fooliſh men, who repreſented *Chriſtianity* as prejudicial unto the *Powers* then in being, and apt to make diſturbance in the State; but if they laid no obligation on the *Chriſtian* to own the *Powers* then in being as Gods Ordinance, but only to acknowledge in the General, that *Civil Government* is from God, how could their Doctrine anſwer theſe deſigns, ſeeing it leaveth men at liberty to reſiſt all who are inveſted with *Authority*, and by ſo doing to diſturb continually the peace and quiet of the world? That therefore men ſhould ſtruggle againſt ſuch ſhining evidence of truth, may tempt us to ſuſpect, that they were as averſe from yielding due ſubjection to the *word of God*, as they were from complying with the Commands of their *Superiors*.

Secondly,

Secondly, For explication of the first particular, I add, that the *Powers* here mentioned must not be extended to *Usurped Powers*, or such as have no *Legal Title*, in opposition unto those who have Just Title, though by the prevalence of an *Usurper* they are unjustly kept from the enjoyment of their Right. For were this so, Might would give Right, and every *prosperous Rebel* would by that very Act commence God's Ordinance, and so be both a *Rebel* against God, and yet be his *Vicegerent* too; nor would men *rule* because they are the *Higher Powers*, but be the *Higher Powers* because they *rule*.

Moreover, what is *Usurpation* but the assuming of a Power, to which, he that usurps it, hath no lawful call, and no just title; since then the ordination of that God, who is the *Sovereign* of the world, must be a lawful call, and give the person thus ordained, a *Legal Title* to be his *Vicegerent*, it follows from the very nature of the act, that the Usurper can not be Gods Ordinance. When the *Usurper* doth begin his *Usurpation* by *taking of the Sword*, or wresting it out of the hands of him who bears it by Commission from God, he must unquestionably be the *Resister of Gods Ordinance*; how therefore can success in his resistance render him *the Power*? Is it not strange that he who purchaseth damnation by resisting, by the same act, and by the higheſt aggravation of it, even the deposing of his lawful *Prince*, should purchase a just title to *Dominion*?

Thirdly, Could an Usurped Possession create a Right to *Government*, were it sufficient to render the *Usurper Gods Vicegerent* and *his Ordinance*, though he doth justle out the lawful *Successor*, then must all Laws and Constitutions to preserve the Government in the *Right Line*, and to condemn all *Usurpations* made upon it, become void, as being Laws enacted to disapprove, condemn and to resist *Gods Ordinance*, and all our Oaths of *yielding Faith and True Allegiance to the Kings Heirs, and Lawful Successors*, and of *defending them unto the outmost of our Powers against all Usurpers whatsoever*, must be unlawful oaths. So plainly doth this Doctrine tend unto the dissolution of our *Government*.

Fourthly, A man may possibly usurp Dominion against Gods own appointment, and designation of another person to be the *Ruler* of his people. Thus was it in the case of *Absalom*, for *all the men of Israel chose* him in opposition to *David*; they *anointed him over* them, and yet the Holy Ghost doth forty times style David *King*, during the Usurpation of his Son, but never doth vouchsafe that title to *Rebellious* Absalom; whereas, if such an Usurpation could have rendred him *Gods Ordinance*, then must He *Reign* at the same time against, and yet according to *Gods Ordinance*. 2 Sam. 16. 18 Chap. 19. 10.

Fifthly, Certain it is the *Pope* did long *Usurp*, and actually possess, and exercise a power over most of the *European Kings* and *Kingdoms*: If then bare Usurpation would render any man *the Ordinance of God*, I know not how we could divest him of that Title, or throw of his *Yoke* without resisting of the *Higher Powers*. And therefore to conclude this first particular, we by the *Higher Powers*, are to understand, *The Persons lawfully intituled to their Government*.

To

Head. To the next enquiry *viz.* In what ſenſe are theſe perſons ſaid to be *ordained by God*, I anſwer negatively that they cannot be ſuppoſed to be here ſtyled *his Ordinance*, only by virtue of Gods eventual, and permiſſive providence, for ſo all things muſt be acknowledged to be of Gods appointment, which were foreſeen, but not prevented by him: The *Rebel* who *Reſiſts Gods Ordinance*, as well as the *Superiour Powers* which are here ſtyled his Ordinance, the Uſurper and the *Legal Prince* muſt in this ſenſe be equally ordained of God. Theſe *Higher Powers*, therefore muſt be called Θεῦ διαταγὴ, *Gods Edict*, *Conſtitution*, *Ordinance*, as being by his Inſtitution inveſted in their Dignity, and Office, and as being men who act by virtue of his Commiſſion, Word, and Precept. Which will be farther evident, if we conſider,

1. That every Soul is here commanded to be ſubject to the *Higher Powers*, *i. e.* to yield a free, intire, active obedience to them in all lawful things; now as no Subject can be obliged to yield obedience to an *Inferior Magiſtrate*, but as he is by virtue of Commiſſion from his *Prince* impowered to be a *Magiſtrate*; ſo neither can the Subjects of the *King of Kings*, which we all naturally are, be bound to yield Subjection to any as *his Miniſters*, unleſs they have received Commiſſion from him ſo to be.

2. The *Higher Powers* muſt be obeyed, ſaith our *Apoſtle*, *for Conſcience Sake*: Now nothing but a Law of God can bind the Conſcience, and therefore there muſt be ſome Law of God inveſting the *Superior* with that *Authority* we are commanded to obey *for Conſcience ſake*.

3. The *Higher Powers* are here ſaid to be *the Miniſters of God to us for Good*, and to be *terrors to the Evil Doer*: Now by experience we find the Providence of God doth not ſo order matters as to make them at all times and in all places, actually ſo; the Perſecuting *Emperors*, to omit many others, being *a Terror* to the beſt of men, and even thoſe *Higher Powers*, which then obtained, when this Epiſtle was indited, being Promoters, and Encouragers of the moſt Barbarous Impieties, they muſt be therefore ſtyled *the Miniſters of God for Good*, &c. becauſe by him they are ordained, and poſitively appointed for that end.

Queſtion, how Higher Powers become Gods Ordinance?

But yet it ſtill remains a queſtion, how theſe *Higher Powers* do become *Gods Ordinance*, how his Commiſſion is derived, his Ordination doth deſcend upon the *Individual Perſon*, ſo as to render him the Perſon by God ordained to exerciſe that power which is here ſaid to be of God. To which enquiry I anſwer negatively,

Anſwer to it, negatively not by Gods immediate deſignment.

Firſt, That I cannot ſay that God doth now, as in the caſe of *Saul* and *David*, and other *Rulers* of his people *Iſrael*, appoint, and nominate the Perſon who ſhall ſway the Scepter in any *Nation* of the World. I know no *Chriſtian Princes* who pretend to hold their *Empires* by this claim. We ſee by plain experience God doth not interpoſe in this extraordinary manner in the Election or Conſtitution of *Superiors*. The Powers then in being, when theſe words were written, had no ſuch appointment, but were elected by the *Roman Army*, or choſen, and confirmed by the *Senate*, and yet they are expreſly ſtyled *Gods Ordinance*, and therefore an immediate appointment

pointment or designation of the Person by God cannot be necessary to render any *Prince Gods Ordinance*. Nor,

Secondly, Can I affirm that God hath plainly determined in his word, or by the light of nature, what species, or kind of Government shall be set up in any *Nation*: Whether the *Government* shall be administred by one, or more, be that of *Monarchy*, or *Aristocracy*. This only I aver, (1) That in the Scriptures, and in the *History* of Gods own people, we find no other kind of Government approved of, or thought fit to be set up by God, but that of *Monarchy*, which is a great presumption that, generally speaking, this of all other species is the best, as well as the most *Ancient* form of Government; and (2.) That by the Providence of God in making the first Government *Paternal*, and establishing the Succession in the line of *David*, it seems highly probable, that He approved not so well of an *Elective*, as a *Successive Monarchy*, and therefore when the people mutinously asked a King, God suffered not them to chuse him, but *the Lord anointed Saul*, and said *this same shall reign over my people*. In *Judah* never was a popular Election, and when in the disturbed times of *Israel* the people took upon them to make Kings, God complains of it by his Prophet saying, *They have set up Kings, but not by me, They have made Princes and I knew it not*. But positively I answer, 1 Sam. 9. 17. 10. 1. Hos. 8. 4.

First, That it is God who hath in General ordained *Government*, He hath made man a sociable creature, and hath endowed him with Inclinations to preserve himself, and all that doth belong unto him, and so hath laid upon him a necessity of his Submission to some Power which shall govern, and shall preserve him from Injustice, or shall revenge the Injuries which he receives from others. 2. *Answer, That* 1. *God in general hath ordained Government.*

Moreover we cannot doubt, but that the Just and Righteous God would have all injuries and wrongs repressed and curbed, that the God of Peace would have his Creatures live in Peace and Quietness; and therefore the *Apostle* having exhorted, that *Supplications, Prayers*, and *Intercessions be made for Kings, and all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet, and peaceable life in all Godliness and honesty*, he adds that τοῦτο καλὸν, *this is good*, this is naturally *Honest*, and this is *acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour*. Now such a peaceable and quiet life, such a redress and restraint of injuries committed, cannot be expected without a Keeper of the Peace, and an Avenger of wrongs, that is, a *Magistrate*, without whom we must all be *Ismaels* to one another, and have *Each man his hand against his Brother*, and every man must be Accuser, Judge, and Executioner in his own cause. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Again, God in his Wisdom so contrived the Production of Mankind that all who came into the world by derivation from our *Father Adam*, should not come absolutely free into it, but subject, when *Paternal Government* obtained, to that, and when it was advanced to *Regal*, should be born subjects to some *Prince* or other; and hence all *Nations* have by the light of Nature been guided to admit of Government, and God doth in his Moral Law command Inferiors *to honour* and obey *Superiors*, and therefore doth suppose them under such an Order and Constitution by the Law of Nature.

a. That God in Scripture hath declared what power shall belong to Governors.

* Χριστῷ συνάρχεις—παρ' ἐκείνου σοί τὸ ξίφος, Nazianz. Orat. p. 17. ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτὴ ἡ κοσμικὴ ἐκ θεοῦ πέτακται, καὶ μακαίρας ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἀλλοχόθεν, δέ ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, Epiphan. Hær. 40. Sect. 4. p. 294. c.

† Rom. 13 4.

Secondly, God hath declared in *Scripture*, and with sufficient evidence even from the Light of Nature, what Power shall belong to this *his Ordinance*, that his immediate *Vicegerents* upon Earth shall have * the Power of the *Sword*. † *He bears the Sword*, saith our *Apostle*, nor without this can he become the *Minister of Wrath*, or Executioner of *Vengeance upon Evil Doers*: To be *Supreme*, and have the Sword of Justice, must therefore be acknowledged to be terms *Synonymous*; hence naturally flows the Power of Executing Justice for the repairing of the Injured Person, and the avenging of the wicked, for the preserving of the Publick Peace, for the Protection of the Innocent; on which accounts the *Ruler* is here called, *The Minister of God to us for Good*; the *Terror* of the wicked, is said to be appointed, and commissionated for the *Avenging Evil Doers*, and for *the praise of them that do well*. Hence in him must reside the Power of making War and Peace, that being only Power of weilding, and of putting up the Sword. Hence also is it that no man justly can resist this Ordinance, because he cannot do it, but by taking of that Sword which is peculiar to the *Higher Powers*. Whence *Suidas* from an † *Heathen Dio* doth inform us, that Βασιλεία, *Royal Sovereignty*, is * ἀρχὴ ἀνευπεύθυνος, *a Government without Controul*, it is αὐταρκία, an independant Government saith ‖ *Sophocles*; it is absolute, and uncontroulable saith * *Marcus Aurelius*. Moreover

1 Pet. 2. 14.

† *In verbo* βασιλεῖα.

* *Orat.* 3. *de Regno.*

‖ *In Antiq. v.* 1177.

* *Apud* Ziphilin.

1 Pet. 2. 14.

God also hath ordained, that all *Inferior Powers* in his *Realm* should be commissionated by the *King*, and act in a dependance on him; hence are they said to be δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοι, *men sent by him*. And what can be more evident than that all Streams must Issue from the Fountain of *Authority*, and all *Inferior Powers* derive from the *Superior*?

Thirdly, He hath ordained, that his *Immediate Vicegerent* should † give being to all Laws which do obtain within his Kingdom, and that his Subjects should yield Obedience to him in all Lawful Matters, according to the Tenor of these Precepts, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*; *Be subject to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*; *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers*. And since a Law, according to the truest definition of it, is *the declared will of the Superior, obliging Subjects to Obedience*, the Power of making Laws must ultimately reside in the *Superior*, and every Subject must owe Obedience to his commanding Power in all Lawful Matters. *Judah is my Lawgiver*, saith God; he is *my King*, say both the *Vulgar*, and the *Seventy*; insinuating that he alone who is a *King* can have the Power to make Laws, though others may assist him to consult about them, when it is his pleasure to convene them for that End; and therefore he is by *the Gloss* upon *the* ‖ *Novels* styled, *The Father of the Laws*; and though he be obliged in Conscience to yield Obedience to the Laws of God and Nature, yet seeing no man can impose a Law upon himself, that must be true which the * *Civilians* declare, That *the King cannot be subject to his own Laws*, or be obliged

† Νόμος ἄρκοντος ἔργον, *Plutarch* ad princip. indoctum.

Psal. 60. 7.

‖ *In Novel.* 12. *c.* 4.

* Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις οὐκ ὑπόκειται, Basilic. l. 2. Tit. 6 c. 1 princeps legibus solutus est. Ulpian apud Cujac. l. 15. observ. 30.

obliged to observe them on any other score than that of Equity, or promise, or of engaging others to observe them by his own Example.

Fourthly, God hath ordained that his *Vicegerent*, acting by his *Power*, should be feared and honoured, and that he may be able to discharge his Office, he hath declared *Custom*, and *Tribute* to be due unto him, for *therefore pay we Tribute*, saith St. *Paul*, *because they are the Ministers of God, attending on this very thing. Render therefore unto all their dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour*: So that when any man obtains a *Legal Title* to *Supremacy* of *Power* he is by virtue of Gods Ordinance, and his Appointment invested with all these *Prerogatives* of *Power*, and our subjection to him doth imply our Obligation to perform those duties.

Thirdly, God having in the General appointed Government, annexing to it these Prerogatives, that this *his Ordinance* may not be vain and fruitless, as it would necessarily be, should no particular Person or Persons be elected to it, or be invested with that *Government*, he must have consequently ordained, that every *Nation* or *Kingdom* should admit of, pitch upon, or constitute some Person or Persons to exercise his Government among them, because by virtue of this General Rule or Command given to all States, that there shall be a Government among them, no man can claim to be the Power more than others, nor are the people by it tyed to yield subjection to this man rather than to that; wherefore that this appointment concerning *Magistracy* may not be fruitless but obtain its end, God must have laid an Obligation on people, who are to be governed, to do those actions which will appropriate unto some Person or Persons the *Superior Power*, and give to him, or them, a Property, and a peculiarity in that Relation. Where therefore there is none who antecedently can claim a Title, as in *Elective Kingdoms*, he must oblige them to the choice of such; and where there is, as in *Successive Kingdoms*, he must oblige them to yield him actual Possession of his Right and due *Subjection*. For as our *Lords* appointment in the General immediately by himself, or mediately by his *Apostles*, that *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* should preside within his *Church*, and perform all the *Ecclesiastical* Offices belonging to it, is an appointment that others should, upon their failing, be chosen and advanced unto those Offices, so must Gods General Appointment of a standing Civil Government be virtually an appointment, that when these Mortal Governours do fail by death, or by extinction of the succeeding Line, there should be others to succeed them.

3. *The Governours should be constituted in and by all Nations, or being constituted should be owned by them.*

Fourthly, the Person thus appointed, though by the act or the consent of men that such a Person shall be their *Lawful Prince*, as in *Elective Kingdoms*; or that *his Heirs, and Lawful Successors* shall sway the Scepter to all future Generations, as in *Successive Kingdoms*, is really Gods Ordinance, and not the peoples, because this their consent is given by virtue of a Rule and Warrant from God, and therefore hath the stamp of his *Authority* upon it. And because it is God, and not the people, who confers the Privi-

leges and the *Prerogatives* upon him which follow from that act, they only name the Person, as a Corporation doth the *Mayor*, but he receiveth his Authority from God, as doth the *Mayor* from the *King*. Thus is it in the case of *Bishops*, they are named by the *King*, and he appoints the bounds and limits of their *Diocess*, which notwithstanding their Authority of *ruling* over their Respective *Diocess*, and of ordaining *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* is intirely Gods Ordinance, and they derive it not from the *King* or People, but from *Christ*. And thus it is more fully in the case of Matrimony: For though God doth not in an immediate way appoint who shall be *Husband* unto such a woman, or Wife to such a man, but leaves them to their liberty to chuse with whom they will unite in *Conjugal Society*, yet hath he solemnly ordained this as the only lawful way for propogation of our kind, and as the proper remedy for our incontinence; he also hath ordained what *Privilege*, *Authority*, and Duty, shall ensue upon the matrimonial Contract, and hath not left us free, after these Contracts are once made, to violate them; and so these Duties, and these Privileges do arise, not so much from their Contract, as from Gods Ordinance concerning Matrimony, and upon this account it duly is esteemed a *Divine*, not *Humane Ordinance*. And having thus explained this Second General, for farther confirmation of it let it be considered,

First, That this was the Constant Doctrine of the *Ancient Heathens*: for (a) *Manuel Comnenus* tells us that οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὠρίσοντο χρῆμα θεσπέσιον, *the Wisdom of the Ancients taught that Regal Power was Divine*; (b) ἐκ δὲ διὸς βασιλῆες, *Kings are from God*, saith *Hesiod*: (c) τιμὴ δὲ ἐκ διός ἐστι, *their Honour springs from him*, saith *Homer*: their Scepter is the Gift of *Jove*, καὶ σφιτεὴν ἐκρίναο τάξιν, *to them he hath committed his own Government* saith (d) *Callimachus*. Whence they are often styled the Sons of *Jove*, not as deriving their Original, but *Kingly* honour from him, saith (e) *Eustachius*, their Scepter and their Jurisdiction. The Regal Power, saith *Plutarch*, is θεοῦ ὑπηρεσία, *the Ministry of God*: *God*, saith (f) *Themistius*, *sent it from Heaven to the Earth*, 'twas θεῖον ἀγαθὸν, saith (g) *Plato*. He who exerts it bears Gods Image, saith (h) *Diotogenes*; and *Dio Chrysostome* doth almost in the words of St. *Paul*, declare that he is, ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγιστοῦ θεοῦ ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, *ordained by the Great God unto this very work*.

(a) Append. βασιλικῶν, à Joh. Leunclavio edit. p 176.
(b) Theogn. v. 96.
(c) Il. B. v. 197.
(d) Ὕμνος εἰς δία, v. 80. διογενεῖς.
(d) In locum jam citatum, er. in. Il. θ. p. 738.
(f) Orat. 5. de Imp. Theod. humanitate.
(g) Apud Synes. orat. de Regno.
(h) Apud Stob. Ser. 46. orat. 3. de Regno ad Trajanum.

Secondly, This also was the professed Tenet of the *Jews*. The Book of *Wisdom* dogmatically doth assert, That *Power is given them from the Lord, and Sovereignty from the most High*, and that they are *Ministers* of his Kingdom, which Doctrine is so plainly and frequently delivered in the *Old Testament*, that they who owned those Sacred Records could not doubt the truth thereof. For there the *Higher Powers* are honoured with the very name of *God*, *I have said ye are Gods*, *Psal.* 82. 1. which name they bore, saith Christ, *because the Word of the Lord came unto them*, *i. e.* because by his appointment and Commandment they ruled, and by his Word did act; they are

Wisd. 6. 3.
John 10. 35.

are said to be *Kings for the Lord*, to be *anointed to the Lord*, or to his service, to be *his Kings*, and *his Anointed*; and this is also said even of *Cyrus*, an *Heathen Emperor*. Their Thrones of Majesty are styled *the Lords Throne*, for whereas in the *History* of the *Kings* we read that *Solomon* sat upon the Throne of *David* his Father, in the Book of *Chronicles* we read thus, *Then Solomon sat upon the Throne of the Lord*; whereas the *Queen* of *Sheba* is introduced thus speaking in the Book of *Kings*, *Blessed be the Lord God, who delighteth in thee to set thee on the Throne of Israel*. Her speech is thus related in the book of *Chronicles*, *Blessed be the Lord God, who delighteth in thee to set thee on his Throne*; their *Kingdom* is styled the *Kingdom of the Lord*, the *Throne of the Kingdom of the Lord*, *his Kingdom*. God doth expressly style *Nabuchadonosor* his *Servant*, declares that he *gave him his Kingdom*, that he was *King of Kings*, because *the God of Heaven had given him a Kingdom, Power, Strength, and Glory*. Moreover the Judgment exercised by men appointed for that work by *Moses*, is said to be *Gods Judgment*; and they who were commissionated by the *Higher Powers*, as were the *Judges* by *Jehosophat*, are said to *judge not for man, but for the Lord*. And he is said not only *to be with them in the Judgment*, but even to *stand in their Congregations*, and to *judge among them*. If then these *Higher Powers* bear the name of God because he hath appointed them to rule, if they are *Kings for the Lord*, and anointed to do his Service, if both their *Thrones*, *Kingdoms*, and *Judgments* are the *Lords*, if he doth rule and judge amongst, and by them, they must undoubtedly be his *Vicegerents*, and *his Ordinance*.

2 Chron. 9. 8. 1 Chron. 29. 22. 1 Sam. 2. 10. 2 Sam. 22. 5. Esa. 45. 2. 1 Kings 2. 12. 1 Chron. 29. 23. 1 Kings 10. 9. 2 Chron. 9. 8. 2 Chron. 13. 8. 1 Chron. 28. 5. 17. 14. Jer. 43. 10. Dan. 5. 18. Deut. 1. 15, 17. 2 Chron. 19. 5. Psal. 82. 1.

Thirdly, This Doctrine is established with a more shining evidence in the *New Testament*: for *First*, my Text in express words declares concerning the then present Powers elected by the people, or the *Roman Army*, confirmed by the *Senate*, that they were *Powers* ordained by Gods, and yet this being their *Original* and Title to the Government, they could not otherwise be styled Gods Ordinance than as all other *Higher Powers* do deserve that name. Moreover the *Apostle* here affirming, that there is no Power, and consequently that the then present *Governours* enjoyed no Power, but of God, sufficiently insinuates that even these *Roman Emperors* derived not their Power from the Election of the people, or from the Confirmation of the *Senate*, but from *the Ordinance of God*; and were it otherwise, how could resistance of their Power be the resistance of Gods Ordinance, as is declared *v.* 2? *Secondly*, In the administration of their Government they are declared to be the *Officers*, and *Ministers of God*, which Title must demonstrate God to be the Author of their Mission, and Deputation to their Office: for the same dependance that a *Subordinate Magistrate* of State hath on his *Sovereign* for being his *Minister*, the *Supreme Magistrate* must have upon God for being *Gods Minister*: Now we all know that he alone can be the Minister of a *Prince*, or *State*, who hath received a Commission from them to act in their names, and therefore must confess that he who is indeed *Gods Minister*, must have received a Commission from God to act in his name.

Fourthly, This Doctrine hath the concurrent suffrage of all the *Fathers* of the *Christian Church*, and hath been handed down unto us through the purest *Cent.* 1.

Τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ κειροτονία, l. 7. c. 17.

rest Ages of it. *Thou shalt fear the King*, say the *Apostles Constitutions*, *because he is the Ordinance of God*; *And honour those who are commissionated by him as the Ministers of God.*

Cent. 2.
(h) L. 5. c. 241.

(h) *Irenæus* in the *Second Century*, having been very copious in proving this assertion from the Holy Scriptures, concludes his whole discourse with this expression, *By whose Command they are born men, by his Command they likewise are ordained Kings.*

Cent. 3.
(i) Ad *Autolycun.* l. 1. p. 76. E.
(k) Ὡς γὰρ ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεκείρωται ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσι, p. 17. Lit. D.
(l) Apud *Euseb.* Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 11.

In the third Century (i) *Theophilus* speaks thus, *I adore the true God, knowing that by him the King is ordained*; *he is a man* ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος, *appointed by God, being in a manner intrusted with the Government of God. You have received the Kingdom from above*, saith (k) *Athenagoras* in his Oration to *Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*. *We adore that God*, saith (l) *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *who hath committed the Government unto* Valerian *and* Galienus. *Thence is the Emperor*, saith (m) *Tertullian*, *whence is the Man, and from him he derives his Power from whom he hath received his Breath*; *he is the man whom our God chuseth, and so must be beloved by the Christian, who knows he is appointed by God, and that he makes them Governours over the Nations.*

(m) *Apol.* 30. 33. ad *Scap.* c. 2.

Cent. 4.
(n) Apud *Athanas.* Epist. ad solit. vitam agentes, p. 840.
(o) Ib. p. 831.
(p) De errore profan. Relig. now, c. 17.

In the fourth Century *Constantius* the *Emperor*, although an *Arian*, was owned by (n) *Hosius*, (o) *Athanasius*, and four other *Bishops*, as one who had received from God the *Empire*. *The High God hath committed unto you the Empire*, saith *Firmicus*: *There is no Power but what is ordained of God*, saith *Basil.* in Psal. 32. and (p) *Epiphanius*: from this Doctrine thus confirmed such inferences do naturally flow as lay immoveable foundations of Loyalty, Subjection, and Obedience to the *Higher Powers*, and cut off all pretences of *Phanatick Spirits* to disturb the peace. And,

Infer. 1.

"Are *Magistrates* the Ordinance of God, do they derive their Power and "Authority from him, and act as his Vicegerents? then evident it is that "they do not derive their Power from the People, or act by virtue of a-"ny Power intrusted in them, or conferred upon them by the People, but "by the Power of that God who is the Fountain of all Government. "Which will be further evident, if we consider,

First, That the *Magistrate* is here expresly stiled, *the Avenger of Wrath*, and by St *Peter* is declared to be the man who doth commission others for the *avenging of the Evil Doer*; now seeing God expresly challengeth the right of executing *recompence and vengeance* to himself, saying, *to me belongeth recompence and vengeance*; *vengeance is mine, I will repay it*; no man can be invested with that Power but by Commission, Deputation, and Warrant from the God of Vengeance, and so the *Higher Powers* can only exercise it by virtue of a right derived from him. Again, seeing all private Persons are forbidden to avenge themselves, seeing they are commanded to *recompense to no man evil for evil*, they cannot give that Power to another which they have not received from God, and which they are not Authorised by him, but rather are forbidden to exert; and so the *Magistrate* cannot be rationally

Deut. 32. 35.
Rom. 12. 19.

rationally ſuppoſed to receive this Power from them; and this ſeems written with a Sun beam in thoſe words of our *Apoſtle*, where of the *Magiſtrate*, he ſaith, *He is the Miniſter of God: the Avenger of wrath to him that doth evil*; behold, He is *the Miniſter of God*, not of the People, and his Vindictive Juſtice upon evil doers, is therefore to be feared, θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστι, *becauſe He*, in the execution of it, *is the Miniſter of God*. If it be ſaid in Anſwer to this Argument, that every man has a Natural Right to defend his own Life, by taking away the Life of any man who doth injuriouſly aſſault it, this therefore he may part with to his Prince, and by ſo doing give him the Power of Life and Death. I Anſwer, that it is exceeding evident, that no man doth make over ſuch a Right unto his Prince; for had he done it by owning himſelf ſubject to his Government, no Subject could defend his Life from the Aſſaults of Thieves, and Robbers, or other bloody Perſons, without aſſuming what they had given to their Sovereigns; ſince therefore Subjects do retain this Right as fully under Civil Governments, as in a ſtate of nature, they cannot be ſuppoſed by ſubmiſſion to their *Governors* to have abandoned, or parted with that Right, which doth ſo fundamentally deſtroy the vain pretence, that it is needleſs to add more in confutation of it.

Secondly, The *Supreme Governor*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *bears the Sword*, that is, he hath the Power of Life and Death. Now, ſeeing God hath ſaid to every private man, *thou ſhalt not kill*, and ſince he hath not given to any man the Power to diſpoſe of his own Life, or to commit *ſelf-murther*, or to conſent that any one that will ſhall murther him; ſeeing 'tis evident from Reaſon that no man can confer that Power on another which he hath not received, it follows, that the People, who never had this Power over their own Lives, cannot impart it to the *Magiſtrate*. He therefore muſt receive it wholly from that God who giveth unto all men Life and Breath, and therefore hath the *Sovereign* Right to be the ſole diſpoſer of them. Acts 17. 25. And ſure that God who breatheth into man the Breath of Life, muſt have the ſole *Dominion* over his own Production; this Dominion conſequently can be communicated to none, but thoſe to whom by him it is communicated; to the *Magiſtrate* it is committed by that Law of God which puts the Sword into his hand to cut off evil doers; and if the People, or any others will challenge the like Power, they muſt ſhew the like Charter; and if they cannot do ſo, as without doubt they cannot, this is ſufficient to diſprove all their pretences to give this Power to another. And ſure I am that St. *Paul* knew of no *Sword Bearer*, beſides *the Miniſter of God*; nor did St. *Peter* know of any who could wield it, εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν, *for the avenging evil doers*, but οἱ δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοι, thoſe who were ſent by the Commiſſion of the *Supreme Power* ſo to do. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

And whereas from St. *Peter* it is objected againſt this inference, That even the *King*, or *Supreme Power* is by him ſtiled an *Humane Ordinance*, or *Humane Creature*; and hence it is concluded, that he is *the Ordinance of man*, derives his Power from the *People*, and therefore is accountable to them if he abuſe the Power ſo received from them. *Objection.* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

To

Answer 1. To this I answer, (1.) That St *Peter* cannot be rationally deemed by this expression to deny the *Higher Powers* to be *the Ordinance of God*, for then he must assert what is the plainest contradiction to St. *Paul*, who, as you have already heard, expresly says they are *God's Ordinance*, *the Ministers of God*, *the Officers of God*, and whosoever doth resist these Powers resists the Ordinance of God. He also must expresly contradict the Doctrine of the *Old Testament*, which hath as fully, and more frequently declared, not only of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, but of an *Heathen Cyrus*, and *Nabuchodonosor*, that they did rule by his Commission and Appointment, and that their Thrones, Kingdoms, and Judgments were the Lords. (2.) He by immediate consequence must contradict his own avowed Doctrine in this very place, where he requires all *Christians* to be subject to this Humane Ordinance *for the Lords Sake*, and out of *Conscience towards God*; for where the Power we submit to is not the Ordinance of God, there can be no Subjection due unto it from *Conscience towards God*; where he hath given no Authority to govern, there can be no Subjection *for the Lords Sake*; and where he giveth an Authority to govern, the Government derived from his Authority must be his Ordinance.

Answer 2. Whereas it is inferred from this expression, That the *Higher Powers* deriving from the people, must be accountable to them, if they abuse the Power so received, this Inference makes the *Apostle* like an unskilful Builder, pull down that very *Fabrick* which he intended to erect: for his design is clearly this, To teach all *Christians*, by Subjection to the Higher Powers, even when they suffered from them *wrongfully*, and *for the Sake of Righteousness*, to approve themselves the Servants of God, and by *well doing to put to silence the Ignorance of Foolish Men*, and wipe off the aspersions of *Rebellious Principles*, or practices which they had cast upon them, and for which they were wont *to speak against them as Evil Doers*. Now can it be supposed, that whilst he was in Prosecution of this good design, he should tell these *Christians*, that though he called the *King* ὁ ὑπερέχων, *the Supreme Power*, yet they were above him; though he required their Subjection to him, yet he thought fit at the same time to let them know he was their Creature, and if he did not rule, as they would have him, must be accountable, and therefore subject to them. Was such a Doctrine as this likely to silence the Clamours raised against *Christianity*? and therefore,

Answer 3. This *Ordinance* may be styled *Humane*, with respect unto the subject, as being exercised by; man or with respect unto the object, as being conversant about men; or with respect unto the end, as being for the good and benefit of man, as is the Office of the *Ministry*, and yet, as well as that, may be ordained of God, and be of a *Divine Original*.

Answer 4. But lastly, seeing it is confessed already, that God doth not immediately appoint or nominate the Person who shall sway the Scepter in any *Nation* of the world at present; that by Gods General Ordinance concerning Government, and the *Prerogatives* annexed to it, no man can claim to be the *Higher Power* over such, or such a *Nation*, but that in all *Elective Kingdoms*

it

it is the choice of those who are concerned to chuse a *Governour*, which gives to any man a property, and a peculiarity in that Relation. (1.) It is acknowledged that they are also in this sense an Humane Ordinance, as being the *Superior Powers* in those *Elective Kingdoms* by virtue of the Peoples Choice, and that it actually was thus in the *Roman Empire*, when these *Epistles* were endited, the *Emperors* being then chosen by the People, or the *Roman Army*, and confirmed by the *Senate*, and therefore being in that sense an *Humane Ordinance*; but then it is as certain, that, being lawfully elected, they became the *Ordinance of God*, and in the sense explained, acted by *Divine Authority*.

Hence it is evident that Subjects cannot lawfully attempt to take the Power from their *Sovereign*, or wrest it from his hands, when he is legally invested with it, because they cannot take that from him, which not they, but God hath given him: For as it is in case of *Matrimony*, the Woman by her own consent becometh subject to her Husband, and gives him the command over her Body, and yet she by the Ordinance of *Matrimony is bound*, saith the *Apostle*, *to her Husband so long as he liveth*; so though the People in an *Elective Kingdom*, do become subject to such a *Governor* by their consent, yet by the Ordinance of God concerning Government, they are bound to be subject to their *Prince*, so long as he lives; and in *Successive Governments* to *Him and his Heirs*, so long as they live. And since the Power cannot be wrested from him, but by that Sword which he receives, not from the People, but from God, he must be very well secured from all attempts of taking of this Power from him, without invading of that *Power* God hath given him. *Inference* 2. Rom. 7. 2.

Hence also doth it follow, (a) that none but God can judge the *King*, or call the *Higher Powers* to account, for what they do; for as no Person can pass judgment on the *King's Viceroy*, or question him for what he doth, but he from whom he did receive that *Character*; so can no Person judge, or pass sentence upon *God's Vicegerents*, but he by whom they are ordained to that Office: The reason is, because *par in parem non habet potestatem*; he therefore only can pass Judgment, and inflict punishment on any Person who is his *Superior*: It being then a contradiction to assert that any upon Earth can be *Superior* to the *Supreme*, it must be also a contradiction to affirm, that any upon Earth can judge, or inflict punishment upon him, or that the *Highest Powers* should be obnoxious to coercion. Hence have the *Fathers* still acknowledged that the (b) *Emperor is less than God alone*, that *there is* (c) *none above him besides God*, that he *is the head of all men upon Earth*, that *when the King offendeth he is guilty before* (d) *God alone*, and *by him only can*

Inference 3.

(a) Οὐ γὰρ ἔξον καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντωνίῳ βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων ἐνδύνας ἀπαιτεῖν, ὅπως γὰρ ἂν ὑπὲ βασιλεὺς εἶναι, Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 14. περὶ τ ἀυτοκράτορας ὁ θεὸς μόνῳ κρίνειν δύναται, Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dionis M. Aurelio.

(b) Solo Deo minor, *Tertul.* ad *Scap.* c. 2 post quem primus, *Apol.* c. 30. (c) Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus. Optat. l. 3. p. 65. (d) Tibi soli peccavi. Rex utiq; erat, nullis ipse legibus tenebatur, quia liberi sunt Reges à vinculis delictorum neque enim ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti imperii potestate. *Ambros. Apol. David.* Tom. 4. p. 349. c. 10. *Chrysost.* in eundem locum, Tom. 1. p. 709. *Cassiador.* *Arnobius* Junior. *Euthymius* in eundem locum, & *Didymus*, & *Nicephorus* Lat. Gr. in locum.

be judged, † according to that saying of *King* David, *against thee only have I sinned.* So *Ambrose*, *Cassiodorus*, *Didymus*, *Arnobius*, *Euthymius*, and St. *Jerom*, and *G. Nyssen.*

† Αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀδέσποτον τὸν βασιλέα καλοῦμεν. G. Nyssen. l. 1. contra Eunom. p. 400. βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Chrysost. Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. Tom. 6. p. 463. l. 41. Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustachium, & 46. ad Rusticum. Isidor. Sentent. l. 3. c. 50. Nefas est in dubium deducere ejus potestatem cui omnium Gubernatio supremo constat delegata Judicio. Concil. Tolet. 6. c. 14.

Inference 4. Are *Governors* the *Ministers of God*, *the Ordinance of God*? then they who do resist their Government must be *Resisters of God's Ordinance*, and *fighters against God*; they must be *takers of that Sword*, which by God's Ordinance is put into the hands of their *Superiors*, and therefore may expect, according to our *Saviour's Aphorism*, that they should *perish by it*: This our *Apostle* here expresly teacheth, saying, *He that resists the Power*, *resists the Ordinance of God*; and if it never can be lawful to resist the *Higher Powers*, because they are the Ordinance of God, it of necessity must follow, That in all cases we must suffer patiently, even when we suffer the most wrongfully. And here to meet with, and baffle all the Cavils of those who plead for *the Resistance of the Higher Powers*, I shall lay down these following Propositions.

Prop. 1. *That it is not lawful to resist, on the account of any hardships or severities that Governors may use towards their Subjects*: For,

Reason 1. *First*, No *Governors* were more severe and cruel towards any Subjects than were the *Roman Emperors* towards the *Christians*, as the *ten Persecutions* may inform us; and yet these are the very men, whom to resist, saith the *Apostle*, is damnation.

Reason 2. 1 Pet. 2. 18. *Secondly*, The *Apostle* doth command all Servants to be obedient, not only to their kind and gentle Masters, but also * τοῖς σκολίοις, *to the perverse and froward*, because it is *thank worthy* thus *to endure Grief*, and *suffer wrongfully for Conscience towards God*; nor is the Child discharged from his obedience to his *Parents*, by any hardships which he suffers from them; and therefore by just consequence the Subject cannot upon the like accounts be freed from that subjection, which he owes unto the *Sovereign Lord* and *Father of his Country*; for certainly there is as much subjection due to a *Sovereign Prince*, who is more eminently *God's Minister*, and *his Vicegerent*, than any Master is with respect unto his Servants; since when the *Master* doth command that which the *King* forbids, the Servant may be punished for his obedience to his *Master*, that is for not preferring the *King*'s Will before his *Masters*. And if it be *thank worthy* with patience to endure Grief when we do suffer wrongfully from our *Superiors*; sure it must be *blame worthy* in all such cases to resist, and to rebel against them.

* Quod dixit de Domino & Servo, hoc intelligite de Potestatibus & Regibus. *August.* in Psal. 124.

Reason 3. *Thirdly*, The contrary Doctrine would expose the Government to endless Troubles and Confusions; for had God granted to Inferiors a liberty thus to resist the *Higher Powers* upon presumptions of severity and hardships, when imposed upon them, he must have left it in the power of Subjects to judge when they are thus severely dealt with, and to act suitably unto that judgment, since otherwise that liberty would be in vain allowed. Now what is this in the Result, but to allow them to be Accusers,

sers, Judges, and Executioners in their own Cause, against their *Sovereigns*, and *God's Vicegerents?* How easie is it for popular men, with the Assistance of their Agents, and with the help of their seditious and lying Pamphlets, to make the multitude believe they are too hardly and severely dealt with, the case of *Absalom*, and of our *Royal Martyr*, too fully will inform us: We therefore may for ever bid adieu to Peace and Quietness, if such surmises or pretences will authorise men to resist Authority.

Reason 4. *Fourthly*, In opposition to this vain pretence, it is observable, that when by *Haman's Policy* Letters were sent *through all the Provinces of* Ahasuerus *to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all Jews both young and old, little Children and Women*, in one day; though by this Butcherly Decree, as *Mordecai* complains, ἀμέτοικοι ἔθνος, Esth. 4. 1. μηδὲν ἠδικηκός, a Nation was to be destroyed which had done nothing to deserve destruction, which was most barbarous injustice; and although, as the sequel of the Story shews, they had sufficient strength both to defend themselves, and vanquish those who did assault them, yet neither *Mordecai*, nor *Esther* thought it fit, that they should thus endeavour to preserve themselves from Ruine without Commission from the *King*, and his Reversion of the *Decree* procured by *Haman*. And though God's People during their abode in *Egypt* were kept under the greatest slavery, and the most cruel bondage; and though, when they went out from *Egypt* they were six hundred thousand fighting men, a number sure sufficient to have made their way by force to their desired liberty; and though God stood obliged by promise to deliver his own People out of Captivity after their seventy years of Bondage were accomplished, yet did he not encourage, or permit them to procure their liberty by rising up in Arms against the *Kings* of *Egypt*, or of *Babylon*, but either did accomplish their deliverance by his own mighty Arm, as in the case of their departure out of *Egypt*, or by procuring to them favour in the eyes of their *Superiors*, *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, *Kings* of *Persia*, as in the case of their return, from *Babylon*, that there might not be found on Record in his word any allowance of the Rebellion of his own beloved People against the worst of *Tyrants*, to justifie, or to encourage it in others on the like pretences, though to be sure God wanted no affection to his chosen people, nor power to assist them in their Lawful Wars. If therefore this had been a method of deliverance agreable to his Sacred Will, no doubt but that he would have given them permission thus to obtain their freedom, and would have assisted them in these endeavours. Since then he did not do it, we may rest assured that it was not according to his will that they should thus exempt themselves from their Captivity, and Bondage to their *Heathen Governours*. And (f) much less can it be according to his will that *Christians* should thus exempt themselves from their Obedience to Governours professing the same Christian Faith.

Esth. 8. 11.

Exod. 1. 14.

(f) Εἰ γὰρ ἑλλήνων ὄντων τότε τῶν ἀρχόντων ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον νῦν ὀφεῖ τῶν πιστῶν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι χρή. Chryst. ad Rom. Hom. 23.

It is not lawful to resist the *Higher Powers* on the account of our *Religion*, or from pretences of labouring to preserve it to our selves, or to transmit it to Posterity. For though it is the Duty of all good *Christians*, and will for ever be their practice, manfully to profess the true *Religion*,

Prop. 2.

on, as occaſion ſerves, and firmly to adhere unto it, to pray heartily unto the Author of it, that he would ſtabliſh and preſerve it to us and our Poſterity for ever, and in his ſtation to do all that lawfully a private Perſon can, by pleading, and by acting for it, and above all by living ſo as that his Converſation may commend it to the good liking of all thoſe who ſee the bleſſed Fruits it doth produce in the *Profeſſors* of it; yet muſt he not take up the Sword, without Commiſſion from the King, or *Supreme Governor*, much leſs againſt him for the defence or preſervation of it, but muſt yield due Subjection even to thoſe *Superiors* who perſecute the true *Religion*, and ſuffer patiently for it, without attempting to reſiſt. For,

Reaſon 1. No men more certainly were perſecuted for the true Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Faith*, than the *Believers* of the *Apoſtles* Age, and yet you ſee the Precept given to them runs thus without exception, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers*; and *Chriſtians* are ſtill charged, upon the Higheſt Penalties, not to reſiſt their perſecuting *Emperors*, but in this very caſe to ſuffer patiently for conſcience towards God.

Reaſon 2. St. *Peter* drew his Sword for the defenſe of *Chriſt*, and in him of *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, when *Chriſt* was under condemnation on the account of his Religion, and yet his *Lord* doth peremptorily command him to put it up again; and that; *Firſt*, becauſe he could not uſe it even in the Cauſe of *Chriſt*, but he muſt take it, *i. e.* muſt wreſt it from the hand of that *Superior* to whom by God, it was committed: *Put up thy Sword*, ſaith *Chriſt*, *for all that take the Sword ſhall periſh by it*; from which words it appears that (g) *Auſtins* Rule is an eternal Truth; He takes the Sword, *qui nulla ſuperiori ac legitima poteſtate, vel jubente vel concedente, in ſanguinem alicujus armatur*, who is armed with it to ſhed blood without Commiſſion from his lawful *Governor*.

(g) Contra *Fauſt. Man.* l. 22. c. 70. Matt. 26. 52.

Secondly, *Put up thy Sword*, ſaith *Chriſt*, becauſe by taking of it thou wilſt deſerve *to periſh by it*, or wilſt be guilty of that *Rebellion* which deſerveth death, which reaſon equally concerns all *Chriſtian* Subjects; for albeit this ſpecial reaſon, that *Chriſt* was then to ſuffer might cauſe our *Saviour* to refuſe the aſſiſtance of St. *Peter*'s Sword, yet could it not induce him to denounce ſuch a Judgment generally againſt all takers of it, or to produce this Text againſt *Man-ſlayers*, to condemn his Action; and therefore *Muſculus* ſaith truly, that this is, *Locus notandus omnibus ſubditis, a place well to be noted by all Subjects.*

Reaſon 3. 1 Pet. 2. 21, 24. *Thirdly*, The Example of our *Lord* in ſuffering patiently, is by the Holy Ghoſt propoſed as that Example which all *Chriſtians* ſtand obliged to imitate. For the *Apoſtle* having enjoyned all *Chriſtians* to ſubmit *to every Ordinance of man*, and in particular to the *King*, as *Supreme*, he adds, That this Subjection, though it might expoſe them unto ſuffering, yet was it that which both the will of God, the nature of *Chriſtianity*, and the Example of our *Lord* required, for *if you do well and ſuffer for it, this is acceptable to God, for hereunto are you called, for Chriſt ſuffered for you leaving you an example that you might follow his ſteps, who ſuffering did not* ſo much as *threaten, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.* Here therefore note, 1. That our *Lord* ſuffered for *Religion*, for preaching the

moſt

most Holy Doctrine, and for revealing from his *Father* the most important Truths; and the design which the malicious *Jews* pursued in putting him to death, was the extirpating his Doctrine from the Earth, and the stiffling those important truths which he delivered for the benefit and the Salvation of all Future Ages; so that no man can have a stronger Plea for his resistance on a Religious Score. 2. No man can doubt but that this *Jesus*, who was the Maker and the Sustainer of all things, who at this very season, did, with one question, cast the whole Band that came to apprehend him to the Ground, and who as he himself declares could have obtained of his *Father more than twelve Legions of Angels* to assist him: I say no man can doubt but that this *Jesus* had sufficient Power, had he been willing to resist those Souldiers which came to apprehend him: If therefore having such a cause, and such sufficiency of Strength, he was so far from making any opposition to them, that he did not so much as threaten; and if all *Christians* stand obliged to follow the example of his patient Suffering, they, when they suffer for Religion, must *commit themselves to him that judgeth Righteously*, and be so far from taking of the Sword, as that being reviled they must not revile again, and suffering they must not threaten. Joh. 18. 6. Matt. 26. 53.

Fourthly, That this pretence of the preserving or the promoting of *Religion* should warrant our resistence of the *Higher Powers* will appear still more unreasonable, if we consider; *First*, That we do not owe Subjection to *Superiors* in regard of their *Religion*, but of their *Dignity*, and of the Power God hath given them, and therefore we cannot deny it to them upon the score of our *Religion*; for if *Nero*, *Claudius*, *Caligula* bear the Sword which the *Apostle* here declares, as well as *Constantine* and *Theodosius*, you cannot take it without Commission from the first, more than the latter, without *Resisting of Gods Ordinance*; and if you cannot take it, then can you never use it for the defence of your *Religion* without such Commission. *Secondly*, The unreasonableness of Resistance upon this pretence will be still more apparent, if we consider that *Colour of Religion* is so wide, and unlimited a thing in these our days, that no man who is never so much in the wrong in any opinion, but pretends that his *Religion* is the truth, for did he think it were an Error he would not continue in it, so that this *Colour* will be of equal force to engage all *Pretenders* to resist. And even he who hath no error in *Religion*, because he inwardly believeth none, may yet have so much wit as to make use of that *Apology* for his Sedition, and plead Religion as stifly as the most Zealous, and the most *Orthodox Professor*; and so if that will serve the turn, whosoever shall pretend to believe contrary to the *Religion* Established in any *Kingdom*, shall *Ipso facto* be absolved from all Bonds of Allegiance: So plainly doth this Principle destroy the Peace, and tend to the Subversion of all *Christian Governments*. *If Erroneous, Heretical, Idolatrous Magistrates may be resisted*, saith our most *Reverend Diocesan, how can any Kingdom stand? Since these are matters wherein every man makes himself a Judge; and it is not material whether he judge Righteous or Unrighteous Judgment, the matter being once stated in these, that in such cases men may resist, the Hypothesis is easily made, and men let loose to* Reason 4.

all

act according to their proper Apprehensions, or the pretences of those that have Power with them.

Reason 5. *Lastly*, The Primitive Christians under the hottest Persecutions, did still conceive themselves obliged to suffer patiently, and say that their Religion did oblige them not to resist, but bear the Cross, and by well doing to commit their cause to him that judgeth righteously. (h) *Origen* in his discourse against *Celsus*, who had boldly said, ἀπὸ στάσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφέναι τὰς ἐβραίας, that *the Hebrews had their Beginning from Sedition*, answers thus, οὐδὲν στάσεως ἔρεον ἐπιδεῖξαι χριστιανῶν ὁ Κέλσος, ἢ οἱ ὁμονοοῦντες αὐτῷ δυνήσονται, that *neither* Celsus, *nor any of his Party could shew that Christians ever had been guilty of one Factious or Seditious work.* *Tertullian* in his answer to that Calumny, That *Christians were Enemies to Cæsar*, speaketh thus; (i) Circa Majestatem Imperatoris defamamur, sed nunquam Albiniani, vel Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani, *no Christian was ever found a Rebel*; *as for* Pescennius Niger, *and* Clodius Albinus, *who rebelled against* Severus; *and* Cassius, *who conspired against* Lucius Verus, *they were* (k) de Romanis, de non Christianis, *all Romans, but none of them Christians.* Here then is a plain declaration to the very faces of their Greatest Enemies, that for three hundred years together no *Christian* was *Rebellious*, or *Seditious*, with a free challenge to them to give one instance to the contrary. And suitable to this Declaration was their practice; for as (l) St. *Austin* well observeth of these *Primitive Christians*, The City of Christ, though it had in it great Troops of people to oppose their wicked *Persecutors*, did not fight for their temporal Safety, *sed potius ut obtineret æternam non repugnavit, but abstained from resisting that it might obtain Eternal Life. They were Bound, Imprisoned, Tormented, Burnt, Killed, and torn in peices*; *and yet*, non erat eis pro salute pugnare nisi salutem pro salute contemnere, *they would not fight for their Preservation, but contemned this Life to obtain Salvation.* Of which the instance of the *Thebæan Legion*, is a pregnant evidence, for being 6666 well armed, and condemned to die by *Maximianus*, the *Emperor*, because they would not join with him in *Pagan* Worship; they answer thus; (m) *behold we have Arms and will not resist, because we had rather die than conquer*; et innocentes interire, quam noxii vivere, præoptamus, *and would rather die Innocents than live Criminals.*

Now to assert, as some have falsly done, That it was only then their Duty thus to suffer, because they were but few, and so not able to rebel; or say with (n) *Bellarmin*, That if the Ancient Christians did not depose a Persecuting *Nero*, a *Diocletian* or a *Julian*, *Id fuit, quia vires temporales deerant Christianis, It was because they wanted Strength to do so.* Is,

1. To say, that it was not indeed their Duty, but their necessity to do so.

2. It is to say, in contradiction to *St. Paul*, that *Christianity* obliged them thus to suffer only for Wrath, and not for *Conscience Sake.*

3. It is to give the lye unto St. *Peter*, who doth expressly teach, That thus to suffer, is to suffer *for the Lords Sake, according to the Will of God, for Conscience towards God.* It is a Suffering, saith he, which is *praise worthy* and

(h) *L. 3. p. 115.*

(i) *Ad Scap. c. 2.*

(k) *Apol. c. 30.*

(l) *De Civ. Dei, l. 22.*

(m) *Eucher. Lugd. in Act. Martyr. Agaunens. Tom. 5. Sept. 22.*

Answer:

(n) *De Rom. Pont. l. 5 c. 7.*

Repl. 1.

2.

3.

and very *acceptable to God*, (which ſuffering out of neceſſity cannot be) who calls us ſo to ſuffer that we may *put to ſilence the Ignorance of Fooliſh Men*, and ſhame them who do accuſe *Chriſtianity*, as that which tendeth to Sedition; whereas did it indeed oblige them only to ſuffer when they could not help it, and authoriſe them to rebel when they had Power ſo to do, ſurely it could not ſtop, but rather open and juſtify the Mouths of them who repreſented it as dangerous to humane Government, and apt to ſtir up Tumults in the World. XIX.

4. It is to thwart that Grand Exemplar which our *Dear Saviour* left for the imitation of all *Chriſtians*, ſeeing he patiently ſuffered when he could have commanded *Myriads of Angels* to aſſiſt him. 4.

5. Were this indeed agreable to *Chriſtian Principles*, the *Apoſtles* muſt have impoſed on *Princes* a moſt heinous cheat: For in the name of their Great Maſter, they did aſſure the *Princes* of the world, that *Chriſtianity* required all its *Profeſſors*, how ill ſoever they were treated, how cruelly ſoever they were perſecuted, how wrongfully ſoever they did ſuffer from them, to ſuffer with the Greateſt Patience, and never to take up the Sword for their Defence againſt them, or to reſiſt their Power, but, after the example of their *Lord*, when they thus ſuffer not to revile or threaten, and much leſs to reſiſt their *Perſecutors*, but only to commit themſelves to him that judgeth righteouſly; and that whoſoever did repreſent them otherwiſe were *Ignorant and Fooliſh Men*, and falſe Accuſers of their *Good Converſation in Chriſt*. And if after theſe Declarations they ſecretly allowed all *Chriſtians*, when they were able, to reſiſt, and to revenge themſelves upon their Perſecuting *Princes*, and only diſallowed this when the *Chriſtians* were too weak to grapple with them, what muſt theſe Holy Men deſerve to be eſteemed, but, *Legati ad mentiendum miſſi*, Ambaſſadors ſent to impoſe upon the *Princes* of the World with Falſhood, and Deceit, or lying Artifices? 5.

Laſtly, this Plea is fully baffled by the plain aſſertions of the *Primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity*: for they declared,

Firſt, That they had (o) Power ſufficient to reſiſt, if their *Religion* would have permitted ſuch reſiſtance of the Higher Powers. *Would we be open Enemies*, ſaith (p) Tertullian; *could we want Numbers, or ſtore of Forces, who have filled your Cities, Iſlands, Councils, Armies, Regiments, and Companies, the Palace, and the Senate, and the Courts of Judicature? Cui Bello non Idonei*, &c. *None of us*, ſaith *St.* (q) Cyprian, *defends himſelf againſt their unjuſt Violence*, quamvis nimius et copioſus noſter ſit populus, *although our People be copious and more than enough to do it, almoſt the greater part of every City*, ſaith (r) Tertullian. In the Reign of *Diocleſian*, (ſ) χεδὸν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι, *almoſt all men had left the Heathen Worſhip, and joined themſelves to the Society of Chriſtians* ſaith (t) *Euſebius*; It is not eaſie to deſcribe *thoſe Myriads of Chriſtians which aſſembled together, and the Multitudes that convened in every City*, ſaith the ſame Author.

(o) *Deeſſet nobis vis numerorum et copiarum*, &c.
(p) Apol. c. 37.
(q) *Ep. ad Demetr. p.* 192.
(r) *ad Scap. c.* 5.
(ſ) l. 8. c. 1.
(t) c. 4.

Secondly, They add that notwithſtanding their Force and Multitude, they did not reſiſt, becauſe their *Legiſlator* had forbidden Murther, and had eſtabliſhed

) Contr. Cels. 3. p. 115. established such meek Laws (u) δι' ὧν ὡς πρόβατα μὲν ἀναιρεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, μηδέποτε δ' ἀμύνεσθαι, οἷοί τε ἦσαν, τοὺς διώκοντας, *by which they were to be killed like Sheep, and not to resist their Persecutors, how bad soever they might be.* So Origen *because the Discipline of Christ makes it more lawful to be killed than kill, commandeth us to love our Enemies, and forbids us to render evil for evil,* saith (x) Tertullian; *because we are forbidden to revenge our selves, and are commanded to expect the Jugdment of the Lord,* (y) saith *Cyprian.*

x) Apol. c. 37.
y) Ep. ad Demetr.

Lastly, Because *this is forbidden by Christ, who by the Command of his own Mouth would have that Sword which his Apostle had drawn to be put up,* saith (z) *Mauritius.*

z) Eucher. Lugd. Epist. ad Sylves. Surii p. 5. Sept. 22. Prop. 3.

It is not Lawful for any Subject to take the Sword, and to resist the *Higher Powers* in the Defence of a *Religion* established by the Law of the Land. This Proposition I oppose to that *Rebellious* Doctrine of *Julian* the *Apostate*, That though it be the Duty of the *Christian* to suffer patiently when his Religion is not established by Law, he may defend it by the Sword, against the *Higher Powers*, when it is so established; which Doctrine,

1. Doth plainly overthrow the *Kings Supremacy*, by setting up others invested with the *Power* of the Sword. For unless I can take the *Sword*, I cannot possibly defend *Religion*, though it be never so established by Law, and if I can, I must be then the *Higher Power*, since it is he, saith our *Apostle*, who *doth bear the Sword*: It therefore,

v. 4.

2. Asserts, in contradiction to our Lord, that men may *take the Sword*, without Commission from him who is by God invested with it in defence of a *Religion* by Law established.

3. It contradicts those General Rules of Scripture which, without any such exception say, that to resist the *Higher Power* is to resist *Gods Ordinance*, and to incurr *Damnation.*

4. It is exceeding evident, that Gods own People had no such liberty allowed them, no such directions in like cases from his *Holy Prophets*; that they were not instructed, or encouraged by them to rebel, when their *Superiors* did act in contradiction to the Laws established by God, and by his Servant *Moses*, and by the Pious *Kings* and people of the *Jews*, or when they were not suffered to worship God according to those Laws. We know that from the time that *Jereboam* reigned over *Israel* the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel* were set up to be worshipped; that *they left all the Commandments of the Lord their God, and made them molten Images, even two Calves.* That Jereboam *cast out the Priests of the Lord, the Sons of Aaron and the Levites, and made them Priests after the manner of the Nations of other Lands.* That he *drove Israel from serving the Lord, and made them sin a Great Sin*; and caused all those who *set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel*, to desert their Habitation. That *Baasha King of Israel built Ramah that he might not suffer any to go out, or to come in to Asa King of Judah*, to worship God according to the Law of *Moses.*

2 Kings 17. 16.
2 Chron. 13. 9.
2 Kings 17. 21.
2 Chr. xi. 14, 16.
1 Kings 15. 17.

Secondly, We know that all these things were done in opposition to the

the Law of the Land, *i.e.* the Law of *Moſes*, eſtabliſhed not only by conſent and Covenant of all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*; but alſo by the Preſcript and Authority of the Great God of Heaven, God having *made a Covenant with them*, which never could be diſannulled by any Law of man, *and charged them ſaying, Ye ſhall not fear other Gods, nor bow your ſelves to them, nor ſerve them*, yet the ten Tribes continued this *Idolatrous* Worſhip till they were carried Captive. For *the King of Aſſyria did carry away Iſrael into Aſſyria, becauſe they obeyed not the Voice of the Lord their God, but tranſgreſſed his Covenant, and all that Moſes the Servant of the Lord commanded, and would not hear them, nor do them.* 2 Kings 17.35. 2 Kings 18. 11, 12.

Thirdly, Obſerve that God ſent many Prophets to warn both *Jeroboam*, and his people, of this great defection from him, and to denounce his heavy Judgments againſt him, and his Succeſſors in that Kingdom for it. For *the Lord teſtifyed againſt Iſrael, and againſt Judah by all the Prophets, and by all the Seers, ſaying, turn you from your evil ways, and keep my Commandments and my Statutes according to all the Law that I commanded your Fathers.* That in his Providence he frequently chaſtiſed them for it; (1.) By *Abijah* King of *Judah*, who ſlew 500000 of *Jeroboam*'s men. (2) By *Baaſha*, the Son of *Ahijah*, who conſpired againſt *Nadab*, the Son of *Jeroboam*, and ſmote all the Houſe of *Jeroboam*. (3.) By the Dearth foretold by *Elijah*. (4.) By the *very bitter Affliction* which befel them in the days of *Jehu*. For *in thoſe days the Lord began to cut Iſrael ſhort, and Hazael ſmote them in all the Coaſts of Iſrael*, and in the days of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joaſh*, when *they were few, ſhut up, and had no Helper*. And Laſtly by delivering them up into the hands of *Tiglath Pileſer*, and *Shalmaneſer* Kings of *Aſſyria*. But all this while we never find that any of Gods *Prophets* uttered the leaſt word for the encouragement of any of their Subjects to rebel againſt them upon this account; or to engage them to fight for *the Religion eſtabliſhed* in their Kingdoms, and made the *National Religion* by the unalterable Laws of God; or to riſe up in Arms becauſe they were not ſuffered to go up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip as God had commanded, and as they had *Covenanted*; they never minded them that "*Jeroboam*, when he came unto the Crown, found "them in full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion, which was a bleſſing "ſo ineſtimable that they ſhould plainly undervalue it, if they did not do "their utmoſt to keep it; That he ſeduced them from it in an *Illegal Way*, againſt a Precept of their *Decalogue*, and did it only by a *Pretence* that the two Calves he had ſet up in *Dan*, and *Bethel*, were *the Gods that brought them up out of the Land of Ægypt*. And yet it is not to be doubted but that theſe *Prophets* were truly *jealous for the Lord of Hoſts*, for the purity of his Worſhip, and for the obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*; what therefore could have hindred them from calling on the People, as our *Phanatick Preachers* did, to *help the Lord againſt the Mighty*, and fight for the Defence, or for the *Reformation* of their Religion, but their diſlike of ſuch Proceedings, and the Conviction of their Conſciences, that ſuch miſcarriages in Princes would never warrant the Inſurrection of their Subjects upon pretence of violation of *the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law*, or to cut off *Idola-*

1 Kings 13. 14-7. 2 Kings 17.13. 2 Chr. 13. 17. 1 Kings 15.27, 29. 17. 2. 2 Kings 10.32. 2 Kings 14.26. *Vide* 70 *Interp.* 2 Kings 15. 29. 17. 6. *Jul. p.* 69. 1 Kings 12.24.

trous and Perſecuting *Princes* without Expreſs Commiſſion, and Authority from that God who *removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings*, as it was in the caſe of *Jehu*, who by *Gods Prophet* was anointed actual King over *Iſrael*, and was commanded by him to *ſmite the houſe of Ahab his* Maſter, and of whom God declared that he had *done well* in executing Vengeance *on the Houſe of Ahab*?

Dan. 2. 21.
2 Kings 9. 6, 7.
2 Kings 10. 30.

And this may very probably be gathered from the deportment of *Elijah* under that *King* who had *none like him* in iniquity. For having once obtained the *Kings* Authority to convene the *Prieſts* of *Baal*, he, in his preſence and doubtleſs with his permiſſion, ſlew them all, according to the tenor of the Law of *Moſes*. He alſo *ſhut up Heaven that there was no Rain until* theſe *Baalites* were deſtroyed. But although his accurſed Wife, at leaſt by his connivance, and the abuſe of his Authority, had *ſlain the Prophets of the Lord*, and though the *Prophet* tells him to his Face that *he, and his Fathers houſe had troubled Iſrael, in that they had forſaken the Lord, and followed Baalim*; and laſtly though *Elijah* had the people at his Devotion at *Mount Carmel*, yet notwithſtanding all his *jealouſie for God*, he gives them no encouragment to attempt any thing againſt their *King*; he ſetteth up no perſon to oppoſe him till, by expreſs Command from God he had been authorized to anoint *Jehu King over Iſrael*.

1 Kings 21. 25. *Ahab ſent and gathered them.* 1 Kings 18. 20.
Deut. 13. 5. 17. 2.
1 Kings 18. 13.
v. 18.
1 Kings 19. 16.

Moreover when *Baaſha* conſpired againſt *Nadab* and ſlew him, tho he did only that which the Lord had ſpoken by his Servant *Ahijah* the *Shilonite*, as the juſt puniſhment of the revolt of *Jeroboam* from his Law, and though God doth acknowledge that he *exalted Baaſha from the duſt, and made him Prince over his people Iſrael*, yet *came the word of the Lord againſt Baaſha, and againſt his houſe——becauſe he killed him*; whence we may rationally conclude, that though Gods Providence permitted *Baaſha* to conſpire againſt the Son of *Jeroboam*, and though he ordered matters ſo as that he was Gods Inſtrument in doing execution on the houſe of *Jeroboam* according to the Sentence of his *Prophet*, yet was not this his action acceptable in the ſight of God, becauſe he here reſolves to puniſh him, ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, *becauſe he ſlew him*. Again the inſtances of the Idolatrous King of *Judah* from the days of *Rehoboam* till the time of their Captivity, afford a further confutation of this new Apology for *Treaſon* and *Rebellion*.

1 Kings 14. 14.
1 Kings 16. 2.

Quod ille dominum ſuum Nadab interfeciſſet ut imperium aſſequeretur. Munſt. Vatab. clarius in locum.

Hoc crimen pœnam à deo merebatur, cum nullo dei juſſu id feciſſet. Grot.

1 Kings 16. 7.

For *Firſt*, it cannot be denied but that the Law of *Moſes*, and the Religion preſcribed by it was the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom of *Judah*.

Secondly, The Scripture notwithſtanding doth inform us that when *Rehoboam had eſtabliſhed his Kingdom, he forſook the Law of the Lord, and all Iſrael with him*. That *Abijah*, who ſucceeded him, *walked in all the ſins of his Father which he had done before him*; That *Jehoram made High Places in the Mountains of Judah, and cauſed the Inhabitants of Judah to commit Fornication, and compelled Judah thereto*; That *Jehojada, and the Princes of Judah left the*

2 Chr. 12. 1.
1 Kings 15. 3.
2 Chr. 21. 11.
2 Chr. 24. 16, 17.

Houſe

House of the Lord God of their Fathers, and served Groves and Idols; That *Ahaz* did *shut up the doors of the House of the Lord, and he made him Altars in every Corner of Jerusalem, and in every several City of Judah he made High places to burn Incense unto other Gods*; That *Manasseh built Altars in the house of the Lord, whereof the Lord had said in Jerusalem shall my name be for ever, and he built Altars for all the Host of Heaven in the two Courts of the house of the Lord*; That *Hezekiah*, with relation to some of these Enormities, confessed after this manner, *Our Fathers have trespassed, and done that which was evil in the Sight of the Lord, and have forsaken him, and have turned away their faces from the Habitation of the Lord, and turned their Backs; also they have shut up the Doors of the Porch, and put out the Lamps, and have not burnt Incense, nor offered burnt Offerings in the Holy place unto the God of Israel*; by all which sayings it is evident that the exercise of the established Religion wholly was obstructed, and the people were compelled not only to neglect, but act in opposition to it.

2 Chron. 28. 24, 25.
2 Chron. 33. 5, 6.
2 Chron. 29. 6, 7.

Thirdly, 'Tis further evident that God testified against these Abominations done in *Judah*, *by all his Prophets and his Seers*, that he chastised them for it, (1.) by *Shisak King of Egypt*, who in the days of *Rehoboam took the fenced Cities of Judah, and came up against Jerusalem, and took away the Treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the King's house, and the Shields of Gold which Solomon had made, and caused Judah to be tributaries to him, because they had transgressed against the Lord.* (2.) By the revolt of *Edom* and of *Libnah*, *because Jehoram had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers.* And (3.) by stirring up against *Jehoram, the Spirit of the Philistins, and of the Arabians that were near the Æthiopians, who came up into Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the Substance that was found in the King's house, and his Sons also, and his Wives.* (4.) By *the Host of Syria which came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the Princes of the People from among the People, and sent all the Spoyl of them to the King of Damascus*, a *Great Host* of *Judah* being delivered into the hands of their *small Company, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers.* (5.) By a terrible *Earth-quake* in the days of *Uzziah.* (6) By the dreadful plague of *Locusts, Caterpillars*, and *Canker-worms.* (7.) By sending against *Judah, Rezin the King of Syria*, and *Pekah Son of Remaliah, who slew in Judah 120000 valiant men in one day, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers*; and the *King of Israel who carried away captive two hundred thousand Women, Sons and Daughters.* And yet we read not of any *Prophet* stirring up these People to Rebel on the account of *the Religion by Law established*, or on the account of all the miseries they suffered by the neglect of God's true Worship, and by the introduction of *Idolatry*; whence it is evident that private Persons or Subjects were then thought to have done their Duty, when they had sighed and *mourned for these abominations*, and kept themselves from any fellowship with these iniquities.

2 Kings 17. 13.
2 Kings 14. 25, 26.
2 Chron. 12. 4, 8, 9.
2 Chron. 21. 10.
Vers. 16, 17.
2 Chron. 24. 24, 25.
Zach. 14. 5.
Joel. 1. 2, 3.
2 Chron. 28. 6.
Verse 8.

We find indeed, that *after the time that Amaziah turned away from following the Lord, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish, but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there.* But who

2 Chron. 25. 27.

Ἐπεβάλλοις δὲ τῶν φίλων φόνευε μὲν τοὺς Ἀδραστείας πόλιν, ἀναιρεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων πεμφθέντων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 9. c. 10.

made this Conſpiracy the Text doth not inform us: *Joſephus* ſaith, that ſome *of his own Friends* were the Contrivers of it, the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Verſion, that *his Servants* thus conſpired againſt him, as did the

2 Chr. 25. 3. Servants of his Father *Joaſh* againſt him, and as the Servants of *Ammon* did afterwards againſt their *Lord*; and if ſo no doubt theſe Ser-

2 Chron. 33. 25. vants of *Amaziah* deſerved the ſame puniſhment thoſe other Murtherers received, though by reaſon of the infancy of *Uzziah*, who was then but four years old, as good *Interpreters* conjecture, and by reaſon of the *interregnum* of eleven years, they ſcaped their condign puniſhment. Moreover the word קֶשֶׁר which imports *Conſpiracy*, and *Treaſon*, being generally uſed in an ill ſenſe, gives us juſt reaſon to believe the *Holy Ghoſt* did not approve this Treachery, and much leſs the enſuing Murther.

Argument 5. *Fifthly*, According to this Principle *Chriſtians* might lawfully rebel againſt thoſe *Arian Emperors* who ſucceeded *Conſtantine* the *Great*, *viz.* againſt *Conſtantius* and *Valens*: for evident it is,

(1.) That the *Nicene* Faith was fully eſtabliſhed by *Conſtantine* the *Great*. (a) *Euſebius* informs us that He confirmed *the Doctrine of the* Nicene *Synod*, and made *Laws againſt* Arius, *and thoſe of his Perſwaſion*. (b) *Socrates* ſaith the ſame, and (c) *Sozomen* adds, that he *condemn'd to baniſhment thoſe who did contradict the Suffrage of the* Nicene *Council*, and that He made *a Law againſt all Hereſies, not ſuffering them to Aſſemble any where but in the Catholick Church*, and declaring that the (d) *Privileges He granted to the Clergy, ſhould belong only to the Catholicks, not to the Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, i. e.* the *Arians* or *Meletians*.

(a) Τὰ δὲ συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ὅπλοις ἐφαμίλλοις τῶν. Euſeb. de vit. Conſt. l. 3. c. 23. Ὅτι καὶ πάσαν ἀνόσιον νόμον ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἔθετο, μὴ ἄλλαχοῦ ἐκκλησιάζειν ἢ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. lib. 2. c. 32. (b) Κατὰ τὸ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ νομοθετήσας. l. 1. c. 8. p. 31. Καὶ ἄλλας ἢ ὀπτόλας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ παντοροικότερον γράψας. c. 9. (c) Τὸ περὶ τοῦ φυγῆ ζημιωθήσεσθαι τοσοῦτόδε τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν δεδομένων ἐρχόμενον. Soz. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 20. (d) *Privilegia quæ contemplatione Religionis indulta ſunt Catholicæ tantum legis obſervatoribus prodeſſe oportet, Hæreticos autem atq; Schiſmaticos non tantum ab his privilegiis alienos eſſe volumus, ſed etiam diverſis muneribus conſtringi & ſubjici.* Imperator Conſtantinus A. *ad* Drucilianum Cod. Theodoſ. l. 16. Tit. 5. l. 1.

(2.) 'Tis alſo evident, that notwithſtanding all theſe Edicts, the *Arian Emperors* did often perſecute the *Orthodox Profeſſors* of the Faith. For (e) *Conſtantius* expelled *Paulus Biſhop* of *Conſtantinople*, and appointed *Euſebius Biſhop* of *Nicomedia* to ſucceed him: yea he afterwards (f) baniſhed him, and placed *Macedonius* in his room. He threatned (g) death to *Athanaſius*, and when both *Paul* and *Athanaſius* were reſtored to their Sees by the Council of *Sardica*, though whilſt his Brother *Conſtans* lived he durſt not gainſay that Decree, after his death He (h) again expelled them. He was, ſaith *Socrates*, perſwaded by *Macedonius* to aſſiſt him in waſting of the Churches, at leaſt as (i) *Sozomen* informs us, Macedonius *pretended his Commiſſion ſo to do*, whereupon all the Oratories

(e) *Socr. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 2. c. 7. 13. *Soz. l.* 3. c. 4, 7. (f) *Socr. l.* 2. c. 16. (g) *Socr. l.* 2. c. 17. *Soz. l.* 3. c. 9.

(h) Socr. l. 2. c. 24. Συλλαμβάνεσθαι αὐτῷ παρθύντι τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Ib. c. 27. (i) Βασιλέως πρόσταγμα φερόμενον. Soz. l. 4. c. 20.

ries of the (k) *Catholicks* were taken away, and they were expelled both from their *Churches and their Cities who held the* (l) *Son to be of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, and were perſecuted in like manner as the Heathen Emperors had perſecuted Chriſtians, and with equal cruelty.* Theſe Perſecutions did prevail (m) *throughout the Eaſt*, in *Alexandria* alſo, in *Egypt*, and in both the *Libya*'s, ſome of the *Biſhops* were exiled, ſome manacled, and others did by (n) flight endeavour to conſult their ſafety; all this was done before the *Council of Ariminum*, and ſo before any *Decree* was made for the eſtabliſhment of the Faith there propounded.

(k) Τοῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν κάθοδον ἐκκλησίας ἐνε… τηκεισαν ἐκ τῶν διωθῶ, ἀλλα πάντες πεῖς τῶν… τὰ Ἀρείῳ φρονοῦντων ἀφηρέῖο. Soz. l. 4 c. 20. (l) Ἐξωθεῖτο τὸ οἱ φρονοῦντες τ… ὁμοούσιον ἐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μόνον, ἀλλ… ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων — ἦν γὰρ ἀνάγκη … μείων ἢ πρότερον παρέχον, οἱ τοῖς ἀλλ… μασι θρασυνόμενοι ἀναιρεῖζοντες, καὶ γὰρ παῖοι… ας ἀικίας μεγίστερον, καὶ γρεβλωσίς πικ… λας, καὶ ἀημεύσεις χρημάτων, ἐξορίαις τ… πολλοὶ ὑπεβάλλοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῖς βασάνοι… ἐναπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τὰς ἐξορί… ας ἀπαρόμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐγίνοῖο καθ᾽ πά… σας μὲν τὰς ἀναῖολικὰς πόλεις. Socr. lib. 2. c. 27. (m) Ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγύπῖε καὶ τῶν Λιβύων… ἐξώσεισαν μὲ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. ibid. c. 28 (n) Socr. l. 2. c. 28.

The next *Emperors* infected with the *Arian Hereſy*, were, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, who as (o) *Theodoret* informs us, at firſt aſſerted, τὴν τελείαν ὁμοούσιον, *a Conſubſtantial Trinity, and by their Edict commanded all men to profeſs it*, and by ſo doing made that to be *the Eſtabliſhed Religion* of the *Empire*. But afterwards we learn from (p) *Socrates* that *Valens* did grievouſly treat thoſe who conſented not unto the *Arians*, that he raiſed an (q) implacable War againſt the Orthodox, that he (r) perſecuted them in the Eaſt, and (ſ) ſhewed his inclinations that all Chriſtians ſhould arianize, that he (t) perſecuted the *Novatians* becauſe they were Orthodox, and deprived them and others of the like judgment with them of their Churches, that the (u) *Arians* did beat, reproach, impriſon, and committed intolerable outrages upon them, and theſe, or at leaſt many of theſe things were done before any new *Edict* was ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of the faith taught by the *Council of Ariminum*, or for reverſing of the forementioned Decree.

(o) Κηρύτῆειν ἢ ταύτην προσέταξε τὸ ἡμέ… τερον κράτος. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 8 (p) Δεῖνα καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιαῦτα φρονούντων… ἐργάσαῖο. l. 4. c. 1. (q) Κατὰ τῶν τὸ ὁ… μοούσιον φρονούντων ἄσπονδον ἤγειρε πόλε… μον. c. 2. (r) Socr. l. 4. c. 3. (ſ) Πᾶσαν… θρησκείαν ἀφανίσαι βουλόμενος. c. 6 (t) Γαυσπαιῶν ἢ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπο… κλείσθαι προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεύς, τῶν ἢ… ἄλλων ἐκ εἶχεν ὅτι ἀποκλείσειεν. Soz. l. 6. c. 9. (u) Πλέον οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες κατα… θαρσυνόμενοι τὰς τῆ ἐκκλησίας ἐβλαπτον… τύπτοντες, καταβρίζοντες, κατακλείοντες δι… μωτηρίοις ποιοῦντες, χρήματα ζημιοῦντες… πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ ἀνήκεσα περιπίπτοντες κατ… αὐτῶν. Socr. l. 4. c. 15.

(3.) The Chriſtians who lived under theſe Arian Emperors and ſuffered ſo much by them did conſtantly declare, They thought themſelves obliged in Conſcience to be ſubject to them, that they could not lawfully reſiſt them, and therefore were content to ſuffer *Martyrdom*: thus when *Conſtantius* the *Emperor* did perſecute the Chriſtians of *Alexandria*, they never thought of fighting for the *eſtabliſhed Religion*, but only of patient ſuffering for it; for ſay they if it be the Emperors Command we ſhould be perſecuted ἕτοιμοι πάντες μαρτυρῆσαι, we are all in a readineſs to ſuffer Martyrdom; ſo well inſtructed in that Doctrine of *paſſive obedience* were the Ancient *Chriſtians*, which this late Author doth *Burleſque*. And though * *Vetranio*, *Magnentius*, and *Gallus*, rebelled againſt *Conſtantius*, and † *Procopius* againſt *Valens*, none of them were aſſiſted, or countenanced

Pop. Alex. proteſtuo apud Athan. Tom. 1. p. 868.

* *Socr. l. 2. c. 25.*

† *Socr. l. 4. c. 5. Soz. l. 6. c. 8.*

ced by the *Orthodox Professors*, but they were still reputed by them *Tyrants* and *Rebellious* persons.

Sixthly, Consider the Absurdities which do attend this Doctrine, It makes that Treason and Damnation, after an humane constitution, a Law, or Act of Parliament, which before was a Christian Duty; for surely insurrections are never things indifferent, they never can be lawful but when they by some Law of God, or nature, become necessary, and they are wanting in their duty who do not rebel. Now though a Humane Law or Act of Parliament, may make that sinful in its exercise which was before indifferent, it is not easie to conceive how it should turn a necessary duty into the worst of sins, and transform the Glorious *Martyr* into the *damned Rebel*. 2. What Conviction so ever any Prince may have that the established Religion is New and Schismatical, or justly charged with *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, he cannot, by this Doctrine, attempt to change it, and to establish true Religion in its place by any penalties imposed upon the *Superstitious*, or *Schismatical*, but he must be in danger of an Insurrection, and by this very Act must authorize his Subjects to enquire with Sword and Pistol in their hand, *By what law must we suffer for professing the established Religion?* 3. This strange Assertion justifies those Rebels who endeavoured to hinder Queen *Mary*, whose inclinations, and disaffection to the then established Religion they well knew, from coming to the Crown and it condemns the *Reformation both in this*, and in all other Kingdoms, as being that by which the *Roman Catholicks* did suffer in their estates and Persons for professing of the established Religion: if then this be sufficient Ground for any Subjects to rebel against their lawful *Soveraign*, that their Religion is established by Law, and they are like to suffer by his attempt to change it, and that 'twill be *too late for them to help themselves* should they be quiet till there Reformers strengthen their Innovations by a Law, there must have been sufficient cause for the Rebellion of *Roman Catholicks* in all those Countries; and if the introduction of the *Reformation*, by which they suffered, could warrant their Rebellion, the Reformation must be an evil thing, that being evil with a Witness which can make Rebellion good. So evident is it that this Doctrine tends more *to turn a Nation into Shambles*, than that of being *passively obedient*. And *Lastly* this Assertion is destructive of it self, and never can contribute to the end for which it doth pretend to be designed, *viz.* The preservation of the established Religion against the pleasure of the *Soveraign*; for by What Laws are We authorized to resist for Religions Sake, the Laws of God expresly forbid it; By the Laws of the Land, but these Laws deprive all Subjects of any power to resist the King by taking Arms against him? Since both by Common, and by Statute Law it is plain *Treason to levy War against our Lord the King in the Realm, or be adherent to the Kings Enemies*. Since our Law plainly saith that *neither Houses of Parliament jointly* or *severally*, (and much less any other Subjects) *can lawfully raise, or levy any War Offensive, or Defensive against his Majesty, his Heirs, and Lawful Successors*; and That *it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King*; our hands

Jul. p. 69.

25 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 2.

13 *Car.* 2. *c.* 6.

are

are therefore tyed up by our own, as well as by Gods Law, for where 'tis Treaſon to reſiſt, there remains nothing to be done, but to be paſſively obedient. If therefore, as this Author grants, *when it is made death by the Law of the Land, to be a good Chriſtian, we muſt lay down our lives for Chriſt's Sake, and the Goſpel requires paſſive obedience, when the Laws are againſt a man,* muſt it not require the ſame obedience when it is made death by the Law of the Land to take up Arms againſt our *Lawful Sovereign*? P. 92.

When then this Author ſo pertly puts the Queſtion, *By what Law muſt we dye for being of that Religion which God approves, and would have all the world embrace, and hold faſt to the end*? 'Tis evident that the firſt *Chriſtians* might with equal reaſon have put this queſtion to St. *Paul* and *Peter*, *By what Law muſt we ſuffer for our obedience to the Laws of God*? doth he ask, *By what Law muſt we ſuffer for profeſſing that Religion which is by Law eſtabliſhed*, let him but grant this reaſonable Poſtulatum, that *the Laws of God are as ſacred and inviolable as the Laws of men*, and lay an equalty upon the hands of *Princes*, and then the queſtion will again return upon him: and unto both theſe queſtions the anſwer is moſt plainly this, That we muſt do it by virtue of that Law of God which doth enjoin us *for Conſcience towards God to endure Grief ſuffering wrongfully*, and *when we do well, and ſuffer for it, to take it patiently*, and by that Law of God, and of the Land, which doth forbid *reſiſtance of the Higher Powers by taking up the Sword*; for when I cannot lawfully reſiſt that power which will puniſh, I of neceſſity muſt ſuffer or tranſgreſs. When he adds, That *no ſuch power is lodged in the Prerogative as to deſtroy men contrary to Law*, it is as true that no ſuch power is lodged in the *Supremacy* as to deſtroy men contrary to Gods Law, or even to make a Law which contradicteth the Divine Law, and therefore no ſuch Power is given them from God as to deſtroy the *Chriſtian* for the Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, or for obeying Gods revealed will, or for not ſacrificing unto *Heathen Idols*: And yet God did enjoin all *Chriſtians*, when they did ſuffer upon theſe accounts, to ſuffer patiently, and not reſiſt. It is not therefore any *Authority*, which God hath given to the *Prince* to puniſh men for doing well, that binds the *Chriſtian* thus to ſuffer, but the plain Law of God, and of the Land, both which forbid them that reſiſtance which alone can hinder it. No *Maſter* hath Authority from God to deal perverſly with his *Servant*, no *Parent* to deal unnaturally and unjuſtly with his *Child*, but yet I hope this will not authorize them to reſiſt, and to rebel againſt *Maſter*, or *Parent*, when they thus ſuffer by them; and what can then remain, but that they quietly do *ſuffer wrongfully*? P. 81. 1 Pet. 2. 19, 20.

F I N I S.